[MIRROR] 034

NELSON MANDELA
MANDLA LANGA

DARE NOT LINGER:
THE PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

不敢懈怠：曼德拉的总统岁月

作者_ [南非] 纳尔逊·曼德拉 曼迪拉·蓝加

译者_ 董志雄

南京大学出版社

imaginist

想象另一种可能

理
想
国

imaginist

□□□□□□□□·□□□ □□□·□□ □

□□□ □

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□

• □□•

DARE NOT LINGER: THE PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

by NELSON MANDELA and MANDLA LANGA

Text copyright © 2017 by Nelson R. Mandela and the Nelson Mandela Foundation

Prologue copyright © 2017 by Graça Machel

Concept and design copyright © 2017 by Blackwell and Ruth Limited

Book design by Cameron Gibb

Simplified Chinese edition copyright © 2018

Beijing Imaginist Time Culture Co., Ltd.

All rights reserved.

□□□□□□□CIP□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□□□□·□□□□Nelson Mandela□□□□□□□□□·□□□Mandla Langa□□□□□□□.--□□□□□□□□□□□2018.12

□□□□: Dare Not Linger: The Presidential Years

ISBN 978-7-305-21403-5

Ⅰ. ①□… Ⅱ. ①□… ②□… ③□… Ⅲ. ①□□□□Mandela, Nelson Rolihlahla 1918—2013□□□□ Ⅳ. K834.787=6

□□□□□□□CIP□□□□(2018)□298772□

□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□22□ □□□□□210093

□□ www.njupco.com

□□
CONTENTS

□□□□□□
□□
□□□
□
□□□ □□□□□
□□□ □□□□□□□
□□□ □□□□□□□
□□□ □□□□□
□□□ □□□□□
□□□ □□□□□
□□□ □□
□□□ □□□□□□□
□□□ □□□□
□□□ □□
□□□□ □□□□□□□
□□□□ □□□□□
□□□□ □□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□ □□□□□□□
□□□ □□□□□□□□
□□□ □□□□□**1990—1999**□
□□□ □□□□□**1996**
□□
□□
□□

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]George Steiner[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Anthony Burgess[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

□□□

[illegible]

[illegible]Madiba[illegible][*][illegible]3[illegible]*Long Walk to Freedom*[illegible]

[illegible]*Dare Not Linger*[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]Prof. Jakes Gerwel[illegible][*][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Zelta la Grange[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Mandla Langa[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Joel Netshitenzhe[illegible]·[illegible]Tony Trew[illegible][†][illegible]·[illegible]Nelson Mandela

Foundation[illegible]

[illegible]

——[illegible]·[illegible]（Graça Machel）

---

* [illegible]——[illegible]

* [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

† [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“Blacks”[illegible]“Whites”[illegible]

[illegible]1990[illegible]1999[illegible]·[illegible]Thabo Mbeki[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]16[illegible]1838[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Voortrekkers[illegible]Boer[illegible]amaZulu[illegible]1961[illegible]African National Congress[illegible]ANC[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Umkhonto weSizwe[illegible][*][illegible]1994[illegible]Day of Reconciliation[illegible]1997[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]Northwest[illegible]Mafikeng[illegible]35[illegible]50[illegible]3000[illegible]National Executive Committee[illegible]NEC[illegible]

[illegible]1994[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]National Party[illegible][*][illegible]1996[illegible]Government of National Unity[illegible]GNU[illegible][†][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]Afrikaners[illegible]”

[illegible]1997[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]General Bantu Holomisa[illegible]——[illegible]United Democratic Movement[illegible]——[illegible]1959[illegible]Pan Africanist Congress of Azania[illegible]PAC[illegible][*][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]Winnie Madikizela-Mandela[illegible]ANC Youth League[illegible]ANCYL[illegible]·[illegible]Peter Mokaba[illegible][†]

[illegible]1996[illegible]7[illegible]7[illegible]1999[illegible]1994[illegible][‡]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Cyril Ramaphosa[illegible][§][illegible]Convention for a Democratic South Africa[illegible]CODESA[illegible][¶][illegible]1991[illegible]10[illegible]1993[illegible]1996[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]isiXhosa[illegible]1994[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Sisulu[illegible]·[illegible]Thomas Nkobi[illegible]·[illegible]Jacob Zuma[illegible]——[illegible][*][illegible]1997[illegible]

5[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]Kgalema Motlanthe[illegible]Robben Island[illegible][†][illegible]·[illegible]Mendi Msimang[illegible]·[illegible]Arnold Stofile[illegible]·“[illegible]”·[illegible]Mosiuoa“Terror” Lekota[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Steve Tshwete[illegible][‡][illegible]·[illegible]Thenjiwe Mtintso[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini[illegible]

* * * * *

1997[illegible]12[illegible]20[illegible]

“[illegible]”

[illegible]

“[illegible]——[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

“[illegible][*][illegible]*Suppression of Communism Act*[illegible][*][illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]·[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1999[illegible]

“[illegible]Tyopho[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][*][illegible]20[illegible]

“[illegible]……[illegible]Shell House[illegible][†][illegible]

“[illegible]……

“[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]Qunu[illegible]*[illegible]

“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]

---

* [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

* [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

† [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

* [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

† [illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

‡ [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

§ [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

¶ [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

* [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”

† □□□□□“□□□”□

‡ □□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□□□□□□□·□□·□□□□□□Dr. James Sebe Moroka□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□1952□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□·□□□□Govan Mbeki□□□“□□□”□

† □□□□□□1990—1997□□□□□□□□

* □□□□“□□□”□

[1].□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□1997□12□16□□□□□□□□□□□□□□50□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1990[illegible]Victor Verster Prison[illegible][*][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1980[illegible]1976[illegible]Soweto[illegible][†][illegible]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible][3][illegible]5[illegible]Volks Hospital[illegible]·[illegible]Kobie Coetzee[illegible][*][illegible]1985[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Oliver Tambo[illegible][†][illegible][6][illegible]

[illegible]Pollsmoor Prison[illegible][*][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][8][illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]C. L. R.[illegible]C. L. R. James[illegible]“[illegible]”[9]

[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]P. W. [illegible]P. W. Botha[illegible]F. W. [illegible]F. W. de Klerk[illegible]†

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]70[illegible]

“[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]The Gugulethu Seven[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]The Cradock Four[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]The Trojan Horse Massacre[illegible]*[illegible]1980[illegible]

[illegible]Sharpeville[illegible][†][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][15]

1989[illegible]11[illegible]1989[illegible]10[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Ramond Mhlaba[illegible]·[illegible]Wilton Mkwayi[illegible]·[illegible]Oscar Mpetha[illegible]·[illegible]Ahmed Kathrada[illegible]·[illegible]Andrew Mlangeni[illegible]·[illegible]Elias Motsoaledi[illegible][‡][illegible]5[illegible]1963—1964[illegible]Rivonia Trial[illegible][*][illegible]10[illegible][†][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Jafta Kgalabi Masemola[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Sobukwe[illegible][‡][illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]National Intelligence Service[illegible]NIS[illegible]·[illegible]Niël Barnard[illegible][§][illegible]“[illegible]State Security Council[illegible]SSC[illegible]1989[illegible]3[illegible]”[illegible][21][illegible]

[illegible]1989[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]F. W. [illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]Port

Elizabeth[illegible]Cape Town[illegible]Groote Schuur Hospital[illegible]10[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]26[illegible][22]

1990[illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible]South African Communist Party[illegible]SACP[illegible][*][illegible]30[illegible][†][illegible]

[illegible]Mahatma Gandhi[illegible]·[illegible]Antonio Gramsci[illegible]·[illegible]Vaclav Havel[illegible]·[illegible]Milovan Djilas[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Ahmed Ben Bella[illegible]·[illegible]Jomo Kenyatta[illegible]·[illegible]Sekou Toure[illegible]

“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]Swart[illegible]

□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□

[illegible]United Democratic Front[illegible]UDF[illegible]National Reception Committee[illegible][*][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Valli Moosa[illegible]·[illegible]Jay Naidoo[illegible]·[illegible]Trevor Manuel[illegible][†][illegible]

“[illegible]24[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33][illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]·[illegible]Barbara Masekela[illegible][*][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[36]

[illegible]1980[illegible]P. W. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Die Groot Krokodil[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]Pretoria[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

1989[illegible]12[illegible]13[illegible]

“[illegible]*Die Burger*[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][37]

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]OR[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Mulungushi Hall[illegible][41]

---

* [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

† 1976[illegible]6[illegible]16[illegible]Orlando Stadium[illegible]Afrikaans Medium Decree[illegible]Soweto Uprising[illegible]700[illegible]

[3].Ralph Waldo Emerson, ‘Self Reliance’, in Essays [illegible]Boston:1841[illegible]. Republished in 1847 as Essay: First Series.

* [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

† [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[6].‘SA is Rendered Lawless and Ungovernable’, City Press, 18 April 2015.

* [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[8].NM, Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela [illegible]London: Abacus, 1994; Citations from 2013 edition[illegible] p. 626.

[9].C. I. R James, preface to The Black Jacobins □London: Secker & Warburg, 1938□.

† P. W. □□□F. W.□□□□□□“□□□”□

* “□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[12].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 1, NMF, Johannesburg, 1998.

* □□□□□□1986□3□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1985□6□27□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Eastern Cape□□□□□□□Port Elizabeth□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1985□10□15□□□□□□□Athlone□□11□□□□

† □□□□□□□□“□□□”□

[15].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 1.

‡ □□□□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□□□□□“□□□”□

† □□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1965□1□□□□□□□□□□1983□□□5□□□□

‡ □□□·□□□·□□□□□□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

§ □□·□□□□“□□□”□

[21].Niël Barnard, Secret Revolution □Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2015□□ p. 245.

[22].NMF, press release, ‘Ahme Kathrada Remembers Reuniting With Mabida After His Release’, 13 February 2015.

* □□□□□□“□□□”□

† □□□□□“□□□”□“1960□□□□”□

[25]. NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 1.

[26].NM, Long Walk to Freedom, p. 651.

[27].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 1.

[28].NM, ‘Presidential Years’, pp. 1-2.

[29].NM in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. April/May 1993, CD 61, NMF, Johannesburg.

* [illegible]400[illegible]·[illegible]

† [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[32].Valli Moosa, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 September 2014.

[33].NM, Long Walk to Freedom, p. 751.

[34].Vaclav Havel, source unknown.

* [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[36].Barbara Masekela, interview by Tony Trew.

[37].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 7.

[38].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 7-8.

* [illegible]1975[illegible]South African Defence Force, SADF[illegible]Namibian[illegible]

† 1967[illegible]Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army[illegible]

[41].Hugh Macmillan, The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia 1963-1994 [illegible]Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2013[illegible] p. 258.

□□□ □□□□□□□

1990□2□11□□

□□□□□□1988□6□11□□□□67□□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wembley Stadium□□□□□□□□□□□70□□□□□□□□□□□□1989□□□□□□□□BBC□□□□□□□·□□□□Robin Denselow□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Anti-Apartheid Movement□AAM□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□Archbishop Trevor Huddleston□[1]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Western Cape□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□Grand Parade□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□Rondebosch□□□·□□□□Saleem Mowzer□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Archbishop Desmond Tutu□*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3]

[illegible]·[illegible]Zoe Wicomb[illegible]*New Yorker*[illegible]“[illegible]—[illegible]Xhosa-Khoi[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]Natal[illegible]Inkatha Freedom Party[illegible]IFP[illegible][*][illegible]Natal Midlands[illegible]

[illegible]Durban's King Park Stadium[illegible]10[illegible]

“[illegible]panga[illegible][†][illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]1990[illegible]12[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]1960[illegible]30[illegible]73[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Jan Smuts International Airport[illegible][‡][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[9][illegible]

[illegible]Nasrec[illegible][*][illegible]East Rand[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]Zimbabwe African Peoples's Union[illegible]1967[illegible]1969[illegible]·[illegible]Ian Smith[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Mugabe[illegible]—[illegible]Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front[illegible]1980[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]45[illegible]1500[illegible]”[illegible][12][illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[14]

* * * * *

[illegible]（General and Allied Workers Union）[illegible]·[illegible]（Sydney Mufamadi）*[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]（Congress of South African Trade Unions，COSATU）[illegible]……[illegible]（Pietermaritzburg）[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]（Mdlalose）[illegible]（Madide）[illegible]（Dhlomo）[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]（Mangosuthu Buthelezi）[illegible]†[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible][17]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]（Harry Gwala）*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20][illegible]·[illegible]（King Goodwill Zwelithini）†[illegible]·[illegible]（Richard

Stengel[illegible]1990[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]—[illegible]KwaZulu-Natal[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]1992[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]69%[illegible]

1992[illegible]·[illegible]Padraig O'Malley[illegible]Conservative Party[illegible]CP[illegible]·[illegible]Ferdinand Hartzenberg[illegible]*[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]1992[illegible]6[illegible]17[illegible]Boipatong[illegible]AK47[illegible]45[illegible]27[illegible]24[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]John Carlin[illegible]·[illegible]Jessie Duarte[illegible]†[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]27[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Roelf Meyer[illegible]*Record of*

Understanding[illegible]·[illegible]Julius Nyerere[illegible]*[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Chris Hani[illegible]†[illegible]1993[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]Janusz Walus[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]Clive Derby-Lewis[illegible]‡

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31][illegible]

“[illegible]1994[illegible]4[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]1960[illegible]3[illegible]21[illegible]1976[illegible]6[illegible]Nyanga[illegible]Langa[illegible]Gugulethu[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1993[illegible]4[illegible]13[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]*

“[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]Memorial Book for Freedom[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]30[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]·[illegible]FNB Stadium[illegible]4[illegible]18[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]19[illegible]9[illegible]Boksburg Cemetery[illegible]1[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]15[illegible]Nomakhwezi[illegible]·[illegible]Retha Harmse[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]1944[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Major General Wilson Ngqose[illegible]1960[illegible]Kongwa[illegible]Frente de Liberta??o de Mo?ambique[illegible]FRELIMO[illegible]South West Africa People's Organization[illegible]SWAPO[illegible]·[illegible]Agostinho Neto[illegible]·[illegible][35][illegible]*‘Haste’*[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][36]

[illegible]1998[illegible]Luanda[illegible]Angolan National Assembly[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[37]

[illegible]·[illegible]“1959[illegible]Fort Hare University[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]‘1960[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]’[38]

“[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Joe Slovo[illegible]*[illegible]

“1990□8□□□

□Active Citizen Force□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[70]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Freedom Front□□□□□□□□□□□4□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

[13].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 2.

[14].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 3.

* □□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

† □□□□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

[17].Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 29 May 2015.

[18].Ibid.

* □□·□□□□“□□□”□

[20].Ibid.

† □□□□·□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□

[22].NM in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. April/May 1993, CD 61, NMF, Johannesburg.

[23].Ibid

* □□□□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

[25].Ferdi Hartzenberg, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 25 August 1992, O'Mally.

† □□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

[27].Jessie Duarte interview by John Carlin, Frontline, PBS Frontline website.

* □□□□·□□□□1964—1985□□□□□□□□□□

† □□□·□□□□“□□□”□

‡ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[34].□□□□1993□4□13□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[35].Wilson Ngqose, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 17 December 2016.

[36].Agostinho Neto, ‘Haste’, Sacred Hope, translated by Marga Holness □Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publising House, 1974□.

[37].NM, speech to the Angolan National Assembly, Luanda, 29 April 1998.

[38].Chris Hani, in They Shaped Our County: The Most Influential South Africans of the Twentieth Century □Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1999□□□ in NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 3.

* □·□□□□□“□□□”□

[40].□□□□□1992□11□□□□□□□Markinor's□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[53].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 9.

* □□·□□□□□□□“□□□”□

[55].Ibid.

[56].Joseph R. Gregory, ‘P. W. Botha, Defender of Apartheid, is Dead at 90’, New York Times, 1 November 2006.

[57].Hugh Robertson, ‘Intrigue Over“New” Offer to the Alliance’, Daily News, 2 March 1994.

[58].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’. p. 9.

[59].Scott Macleod, ‘Nelson Mandela: I Am No Prophet’, TIME, 26 February 1990.

* □□□□□□□□□Battle of Cassinga□□1978□□□□□□□□

[72].Matin Challenor, ‘Victory for Alliance’, Daily News, 22 February 1994.

[73].Princeton Lyman, Partner to History: The US Role in South Africa's Transition (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2002) pp. 71-9; Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination, 23 April 1994, O'Malley Archive.

[74].NM, ‘Presidential Years’, p. 10.

[75].Bill Keller, ‘The South African Vote: The Overview; More Bombings Rattle South Africans’, New York Times, 26 April 1994.

[76].James Baldwin, No Name in the Street (London: Michael Joseph, 1972) p. 82.

□□□ □□□□□□□

□□□□□□

□□□

“□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1991□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□“□□□□□□”——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

“□1652□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Jan van Riebeeck□*□□□□□□□□

□□□

“□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□□□□□□□□□□□□’□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

Buildings□□□

“□□□

□□□

† □□□□

† □□·□□□□□·□□□□“□□□”□

[24].NM, Long Walk to Freedom, p. 742.

* □·□□□□□

[36].NM, addressing guests during celebrations following the ANC election victory, Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, 2 May 1994.

[37].Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014,

[38].NM, Long Walk to Freedom, pp. 401-2.

[39].‘Time Now to Begin Anew: Mandela Joins Peace Prayers’, Cape Times, 9 May 1994.

* □□□□·□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□□□□□□□□□□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□“□□□□”□

[42].Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.

[43].NM, Long Walk to Freedom, pp. 401-2.

[44].Walter Sisulum, ‘We Shall Overcome! ’, Reflections in Prison, edited by Mac Maharaj □Cape Town: Zebra Press and Robben Island Museum, 2001□□ p. 85.

† □□□□·□·□□□·□□□□“□□□”□

[46].Pixley ka Isaka Seme, ‘Native Union’, Imvo Zabantsundu, 24 October 1911, in Sheridan Johns III, Protest and Hope 1882-1934, vol. 1 of From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Plitics in South Africa 1882-1964, edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter □Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1972□□ p. 40.

* □□□□□□SAP□□SAPS□□□□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

† □□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

[49].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 40.

[50].Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.

[51].Ibid.

[52].Ibid.

[53].Ibid.

[54].Barbara Masekela, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 28 August 2014.

[55].NM, address to the people of Cape Town on his election as presdent of South Africa, City Hall, Cape Town, 9 May 1994.

* □□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

[58].Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.

† □□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

[60].NM statement at his Inauguration as president of the democratic Republic of South Africa, Union Buildings, Pretoria, 10 May 1994.

[61].Adrian Hadland, ‘Let's Build a Great SA’, Business Day, Wednesday, 11 May 1994.

[62].‘F. W. de Klerk: Mandela Held My Hand for All to See’, City Press, 6 December 2013.

[63].Adrian Hadland, ‘Let's Build a Great SA’, Business Day, Wednesday, 11 May 1994.

[64].NM, speech at the luncheon following his inauguration, Cape Town, 10 May 1994, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.

□□□ □□□□□

□□□□

□□□

“□□□

“□□□

□Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa□IDASA□□□□□□□□□□□□Institute for Justice and Reconciliation□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Brimstone Investment Corporation□□□□□□□□□□□African Engineering International□□□□□—□□□□□□□Educor-Naspers□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Naspers□□□□□□□□□Old Mutual□□□□·□□□□□□□David Philip Publisher□□□□□□□□□□□□□Western Province Cricket Pty Ltd□□□□□□□□□□□South African Academy of Science□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Committee of University Principals□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□Mary Mxadana□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa□□□□□□□□1992□5□28□□31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

“□□□·□□□□Raymond Suttner□□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□□□□□□1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□256□□□□□□82□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□80□□□□□□11□□□□□9□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□24□56——□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[51]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[10].Barbara Masekela, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 28 August 2014.

[11].Ahmed Kathrada in conversation with Tony Trew and Joel Netshitenzhe, Johannesburg, 2 December 2014.

[12].Jakes Gerwel, president's office submission to the Presidential Review Commission, 25 September 1997.

[13].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 19.

[14].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 19-20.

[15].Jakes Gerwel, interview by Aziz Pahad, 21 July 2010.

[16].Memo from director general, Office of the President, state expenditure, November 1997, Gerwel Papers □private collection□.

[17].Jan-Jan Joubert, ‘He Could See the Essential Core’, City Press, 8 December 2013.

[18].Walter Sisulu, interview by Sahm Venter, Cape Town, October 1994.

* □□□□□□□□□Westbrook□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□Valley of Mercy□□□1838□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[20].Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.

† □□□□□·□□□□—□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□tata□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[23].Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 26 February 2016.

[24].Mary Mxadana, interview by Sahm Venter, Cape Town, October 1994.

[25].NM, interview by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, PBS, 6 May 1994, from ‘South Africa Pres Elect Interview’ AP Archive, story no. W066632.

[26].NM, ‘Presidential Years’, pp. 4-5.

[27].Tito Mboweni, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.

* □□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□□□□□□□□officials□□□□□□□□□

[47].F. W. de Klerk, The Last Trek, pp. 342-4; David Welsh, ‘Coalition Government, An Unwilling Marriage’, in State of the Nation, 1997/98, Bertus De Villiers (editor)(Pretoria: HSRC)(pp. 37.

[48].Tim Cohen, ‘Mandela's Saintly Reign a Case of Hit or Myth’, Business Day, 11 May 1994.

[49].Kader Asmal and Adrian Hadland with Moira Levy, Politics in My Blood: A Memoir (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2011)(p. 193.

* (((((((

□□□ □□□□□

□□□·□□□□□1994□5□9□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Chris Liebenberg□[†]□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□Nedbank□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□“□□□

□□”[24]

□□□—□□□

□□□

[34]

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

* * * * *

□□□

“□□□

“□□□

“□□□

“□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□*Sunday Times*□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□CIA□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1959□4□5—6□□□□□□□□United States Information Service, USIS□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□1996□7□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□,□□□□□□□

□□□

[5].Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.

[6].Ibid.

* □□·□□□□□“□□□”□

* □□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Public Protector□□□□□□Auditor General□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Independent Authority to Regulate Broadcasting□□□□□□□□□□South African Human Rights Commission□□□□□□□□□□Commission for Gender Equality□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Commission for Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities□□

[9].Tito Mboweni, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.

[10].Rapport, 31 July 1994, in David Welsh, ‘Coalition Government’, in State of the Nation, p. 66.

[11].Nelson Mandela, interview by BBC, October 1993, NMF tapes, BBC Tape M8, NMF, Johannesburg.

[12].Padraig O'Malley, Shades of Difference: Mac Mahraj and the Struggle for South Africa □New York: Viking Penguin, 2007□□ pp. 400-2.

[13].Continuation of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, chapter six: The National Executive, clause 89□2□.

[14].Jakes Gerwel, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 8 November 1994, O'Malley Archive.

[15].Kader Asmal and Adrian Hadland with Moira Levy, Politics in my Blood, p. 197.

[16].Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 3 October 1995, O'Malley Archive.

[17].NM, interview by Patti Waldmeier, Union Buildings, Pretoria, 1 july 1994, Patti Waldmeier interviews, Historical Papers Research Archive, William Cullen Library, Universityh of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

[18].Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.

[19].SAPA, ‘NP to Fare Worse than in 1994 Poll, Says Mandela’, The Citizen, 26 June 1995.

[20].F. W. de Klerk, The Last Trek, p. 357.

[21].F. W. de Klerk, email interview by Tony Trew, 13 March 2015.

[22].Tony Leon, Opposite Mandela: Encounters with South Africa's Icon（Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014）, p. 97.

[23].AP Archive, ‘South Africa-de Klerk and Mandela Make Up’, story no. W019071, 20 January 1995.

[24].AP Archive, ‘Mandela Denies Rumours of de Klerk's Resignation’, story no. 15992, 13 October 1995.

[25].F. W. de Klerk, The Last Trek, p. 353.

* 1994

[27].NM to F. W. de Klerk, 26 September 1995, Gerwel Papers（private collection）.

[28].Grasa Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.

[29].F. W. de Klerk, The Last Trek, p. 353.

[30].F. W. de Klerk, email interview by Tony Trew, 13 March 2015.

[31].Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg.

* “”1986 2 J. Books Spector,“Roelof ‘Pik’ Botha, the Ultimate Survivor’, Daily Maverick, 2 September 2011

[33].NM, address on the occasion of the President's Budget Debate in the Senate, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 18 June 1996.

[34].Jeremy Seekings, ‘Partisan Realignment in Cape Town, 1994-2004’, CSIR Working Paper, no. 111, December 2005.

[35].Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 28 November 2014.

[36].Jakes Gerwel, interview by Jan-Jan Joubert drawing on a 2010 interview, ‘Jakes Gerwel: Mandela could see the Essential Core’, City Press, 10 December 2013.

[37].Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 3 October 1995, O'Malley Archive.

[38].Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 28 November 2014.

[39].Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview with Tony Trew, Durban, 28 November 2014; NM to Irene Buthelezi, 3 August 1979, in NM, Conversation with Myself, pp. 170-2; NM to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 3 February 1989, in NM, Conversation with Myself, p. 255.

[40].Anthony Lewis, ‘Mandela the Pol’, New York Times Magazine, 23 March 1997.

[41].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 36.

[42].Mangothutu Buthelezi, interview by Padraig O'Malley,3 October 1995, O'Malley Archive.

[43].Statement by President Nelson Mandela on the NP's withdrawal from the Government of National Unity □GNU□, 9 May 1996.

* □□□□□□□□□“□□□”□

[45].SAPA, ‘Government Failed SA Says Winnie’, Citizen, 6 February 1995.

[46].Statement on Deputy Minister Mandela's apology, issued by the President's Office, 14 February 1995.

[47].Statement by President Nelson Mandela on changes in the Ministry of Aarts, Culture, Science and Technology, 27 March 1995.

[48].AP Archive, ‘South Africa: Winnie Mandela Resigns from Government’, story no.6108, APTV, 17 April 1995.

[49].Statement on the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela, issued by the acting president, 12 April 1995.

[50].Statement by President Nelson Mandela on changes in the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 14 April 1995.

[51].Bob Drogin, ‘Winnie Mandela Quits Post, Criticizes Estranged Husband’, Los Angeles Times, 18 April 1995.

[52].Sunday Telegraph, 1 May 1994.

* □□□□□□□Progressive Federal Party□□——□□

[54].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 23-4.

[55].Klulu Sibiya, ‘Truly, Truly Unforgettable’, City Press, 15 May 1994, in NM.

[56].Ibid.

[57].Jerry Zremski, ‘Mandela Inauguration, Spirit of Reconciliation Thrills Houghton’, Buffalo News, 11 May 1994.

[58].Marga Ley, ‘Wit, Swart Neem Kekaar as Gesinslede aan’[White and Black Accept Each Other as Family], Beeld, 11 May 1994.

[59].Sarel van der Walt, ‘Goeie SA“kan kom uitwittebroodstyd”’[Good South Africa“can emerge from the honeymoon period”], Beeld, 11 May 1994, in NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 31.

* □□□□□□□1976□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Die Burger*□□□□□□□1915□□——□□

[61].Themba Khumalo, ‘Madiba's World Coup: Leaders Flock to Pretoria’, City Press, 15 May 1994, in NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p.31.

[62].‘Sowetan Comment’, The Sowetan, 11 May 1994.

[63].Ibid.

[64].Ken Owen, ‘To Our Rainbow Nation Finally United in Peace’, Sunday Times, 15 May 1994, in NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 32.

[65].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 31-3.

[66].NM, note, NMPP 2009/8, Box 7 file 11, p. 48, NMF, Johannesburg.

[67].NM notes for opening remarks at NEC meeting, box 4, folder 38, ANCLH, Johannesburg.

[68].Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, ‘Why the South Africa United Front Failed: Disruptive Role of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania’, March 1962, in South Africa's Freedom Struggle: Statements, Speeches and Articles Including Correspondance with Mahatma Gandhi（London: Kliptown Books, 1990）.

[69].NM, Long Walk to Freedom, p. 580.

* □□□□□□□□□1978□□□□□□□□

[76].Jay Naidoo, Fighting for Justice: A Lifetime of Political and Social Activism □Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2010□□ p. 227.

[77].Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.

[78].Jay Naidoo, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 14 April 2003, O'Malley Archive.

[79].NM, address to veterans at banquet, State House, Pretoria, 23 July 1994.

[80].NM, statement in the National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 28 March 1996.

[81].Ibid.

[82].Chris Liebenberg, interview by Tony Trew, Somerset West, 1 December 2015.

[83].Alan Hirsch, Seaon of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki □Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press jointly with Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2005□□ p. 93.

[84].Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.

[85].Grasa Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, 22 September 2016.

[86].NM, reply to the NCOP debate on the President's Budget, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 29 August 1997, Hansard, cols. 1551-2.

* □□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

[88].Sue van der Merwe, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 April 2015.

[89].NM, notes prepared for a meeting of the NEC, 19 February 1996, NMPP 2009/8, box 7, file 11, African Bank 1995, pp. 1-7, NMF, Johannesburg.

[90].NM, reply to the NCOP debate on the Presidential Budget, 7 August 1998, Debates of the National Council of Provinces, Hansard, 3 March to 12 November 1998, cols. 1807-15.

* □□□□□□□De Tuynhuys□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

[92].Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.

[93].Ibid.

[94].Ibid.

[95].Ibid.

[96].Ahmed Kathrada in conversation with Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 2 December 2014.

[97].Sydney Mufamadi, interview with Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.

[98].John Higgins, ‘Living out our differences: Reflections on Mandela, Marx and My Country: An interview with Jakes Gerwel’, Thesis Eleven, vol. 115, no. 1, Sage Publications, 2013.

[99].‘“Unpredictable” Mabida Kept Bodyguards on Their Toes’, City Press, 8 December 2013.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

[101].Toine Eggenhuizen, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 10 February 2017.

□□□ □□□□□

□□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1980□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[34]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□25□□□

□□□

□□□

[13].NM, opening address in the President's Budget Debate in the National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 21 April 1998.

[14].Ibid.

[15].Andy Capostangno, ‘Black President for Rugby’, Mail & Guardian, 22 May 1998.

[16].NM, Bram Fischer Memorial Lecture, 9 June 1995.

[17].Kader Asmal and Adrian Hadland with Moira Levy, Politics in My Blood, pp. 108-9.

[18].Ibid, pp. 110, 125.

[19].George Bizoa, Odyssey to Freedom □Houghton: Random House, 2007□□ p. 487.

[20].Nicholas Haysom, ‘Negotiating a Sustainable Political Settlement: Part 2 Legitimation-Lessons from the South African Transition’ □paper presented at Toward Inclusive and Participatory Constitution Making, 3-5 August, 2004, Kathmandu □Nagarkot□□ p. 9; Hassen Ebrahim, The Soul of a Nation: Constitution-making in South Africa □Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1988□□ pp. 134ff.

[21].Valli Moosa, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 September 2014.

[22].Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.

[23].Cyril Ramaphosa, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 6 October 2014.

[24].George Bizos, Odyssey to Freedom, p.508.

[25].NM, notes for an address to the NEC, 23 February 1995, box 3, ANCLH, Johannesburg.

* □□□□□□□□isiZulu□□□□□□isiXhosa□□□□□□□□□□□Tshivenda□□□□□□sePedi□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□

[27].NM, reply to the debate on the State of the Nation Address, 24 February 1995.

[28].Hassen Ebrahim, The Soul of a Nation, p. 132; Cape Times, 29 April 1996; Mail & Guardian, 4 April 1996.

* 1910—1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cape of Good Hope□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Limpopo□□□□□□□□□Mpumalanga□□□□□□□Northern Cape□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[43].NM, speech at a banquet of the General Council of the Bar of South Africa, 28 July 2000.

* □□□□

□□□ □□

□□□1994□□□□3900□□□□

“□□□

□□“□□□

“□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1996□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

1994□3□□□

“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.....”

“□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[34]

---

[1].Ingrid Jonker, ‘The Child Who was Shot Dead by Soldiers in Nyanga’, The Heinemann Book of African Women's Poetry, edited by Stella and Frank Chipasula □London: Heinemann, 1995□□ p. 151, quoted by NM, during his State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994.

[2].NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994.

[3].Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.

[4].Essop Pahad, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 11 September 2014.

[5].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 20-1.

[6].NM, address on the occasion of the opening of the second session of the democratic Parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 17 February 1995.

[7].Statement by President Nelson Mandela on portraits and works of art in Parliament, 30 January 1996.

[8].Grasa Mashel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.

[9].Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.

[10].Max Sisulu, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 April 2015.

[11].Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.

[12].Ibid; Max Sisulu, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 April 2015.

[13].Max Sisulu, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 April 2015; Ben Turok, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 17 March 2015; Sue van der Merwe,

interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 April 2015.

[14].NEC Minutes, 24 April 1995, box 5, folder 23, ANCLH, Johannesburg.

[15].Magosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 27 November 1996, O'Malley Archive.

[16].NM, notes for a meeting with the ANC NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, pp. 20-1, NMF, Johannesburg.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[29].NM, notes for a meeting with ANC officials after his remarks of Shell House in the Senate, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, folder 1, NMF, Johannesburg.

[30].NM, opening the National Assembly snap debate on events surrounding the shooting at Shell House, House of Parliament, Cape Town, 7 June 1995.

[31].NM, closing address to the National Assembly in the snap debate on the Shell House incident, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 7 June 1995.

[32].NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.

[33].Joseph Chiole, Second Reading Debate on the Commission on the Remuneration of Representatives Bill, 14 November 1994, Hansard, cols. 4256 and 4259.

[34].NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.

□□□ □□□□□□□

□□□□□□

1970□□□

“□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1912□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

□□□

“□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda□□□

□□‘□□□

“□□□□□—□□□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□□

* □□□□□□□1834—1836□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Sixth Xhosa War□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□13□□□□□1820□□□□□□1835□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1872□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mpande□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1906□□□□□□□□□□□□Bambatha Rebellion□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Umkhonto weSizwe: Fighting for a Divided People □Johannesburg: Galago, 2005□; see also Eugene de Kock's submission to the TRC Final Report, vol. 6, section 4, appendix, p. 583, presented to President Nelaon Mandela, 29 October 1998.

[26].Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 29 May 2015.

[27].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 36-7.

[28].NM, address to rally in Durban, 25 February 1990.

[29].NM, in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. 26 April and 3 May 1993, CD 51, NMF, Johannesburg.

* □□□Gatcha□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

† □□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

[41].NM, closing address in the National Assembly Debate on the President's Budget, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 3 May 1995, Hansard, cols. 818-20.

[42].Ibid.

[43].Ibid.

[44].Ibid.

[45].Ibid.

[46].NM, Senate debate on the President's Budget, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 1 June 1995, Hansard, cols. 1139-42.

[47].7 June 1995, NMPP2009/8, box5, folder 4; ‘Can 1000 Troops Stop the Carnage?’ Mail & Guardian, 25 August 1995.

* □□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□1988□□11□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Brian Mitchell□□4□□□□□□□□□□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[49].Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 29 May 2015.

[50].NM, Two and half years of democratic government: prepared by President Nelson Mandela for the NEC, November 1996, box 6, folder 58, ANCLH, Johannesburg.

□□□ □□□□

1964□6□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□

□□□

Service Act□□□□□□□□□□□□□National Commissioner□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□George Fivaz□†□□□□□□□□□□□[21]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“1994□□□□□26%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□13%□□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□……

□1983□□1992□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□135%□□□□□□□109%□□□□□□□□□□71%□□□□□□□□□64%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[23]

“□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

“□□□1994□□□

□□□

□□□□□1995□□□□□

□□□

“□□□

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——“□□□□”□Arms Deal□□

* * * * *

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1.1990□2□1□□1994□5□31□□□

□□□□□□

□□□□□□

□□□□□□□”□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□

[1].□□□·□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□27□□□□”□□□□□□□1993□11□15□□□□1962□8□5□□□□□□Howick□□□□□□□□

[2].Howard Fast, Spartacus □self-published, 1951□; Leo Tolstoy, War and Peace □1869□; Dee Brow, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West □New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970□; Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China □London: Victor Gollancz, 1937□.

[3].Luis Taruc, Born of the People □New York: International Publishers, 1953□.

[4].Allister Sparks, Beyond the Miracle, p. 18.

[5].NM interviewed by the BBC, October 1993, NMF Tapes, BBC M8, NMF, Johannesburg.

[6].Zola Skweyiya, interviewed by Padraig O'Mally, 30 November 1995, O'Malley Archive.

[7].NM, note regarding an interview with Nomavenda Mathiane, NMPP 2009-8, box 7, file 11, p. 38, NMF, Johannesburg.

[8].Transitional Executive Council Act, 1993; Barry Gilderm, Songs and Secrets: South Africa from Liberation to Governance □New York, NY: Colombia University Press, 2012□□ pp. 156-7; Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015; Barry Gilder, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 24 November 2015; Siphiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 5 November 2015.

[9].Grasa Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.

[10].NM, notes edited for a speech prior to a meeting with SAPS generals, NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, pp. 25-30, NMF, Johannesburg.

[11].Ibid.

[12].Ibid.

* □1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[14].Ibid.

[15].Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.

[16].NM, notes for a meeting with SAPC officers, 30 November 1996, NMPP/8,box7, file 11, African Bank 1995, pp. 89-93, NMF, Johannesburg.

[17].Ibid.

* □□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Frank Chikane□1989□□□□□T□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[30].Siphiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 25 November 2015.

[31].AP Archive, 11 September 1994; Beeld Archive, 10 September to 4 November 1994.

[32].NM, NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, NMF, Johannesburg.

[33].NM, NMPP 2009/8, box3, notebook 12, NMF, Johannesburg; AP Archive, 11 September 1994; Beeld Archive, 10 September to 4 November 1994.

[34].Telex to Parks Mankahlana, Office of the President, from Amrit Manga Office of the New Nation containing his transcript of an interview with President Mandela Communication, NASA, Pretoria.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□P. W.□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□“□□□□”——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[45].Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.

[46].Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Neshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.

[47].NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 9 February 1996.

[48].Defence Review Committee, South African Defence Review 1998 □Pretoria: Department of Defence, 1998□; Public protector, auditor general and national director of public prosecutions, Report to Parliament on the Joint Investigation into the Strategic Defence Procurement Packages Undertaken by the Public Protector, Auditor General and National Director of Public Prosecution, 13 November 2001.

[49].South African Department of Defence, Department of Defence Annual Report 2001/2002 □Pretoria: Department of Defence, 2002□□ p. 62.

[50].Yvonne Muthien, ‘Democratic Consolidation to South Africa, 1994-1999’, Democracy South Africa: Evaluating 1999 Election □Pritoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999□.

[51].Charles Baudelaire, ‘The Generous Gambler’, Figaro, 1864.

* □□□·□□□□□1992□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

† □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[57].Barry Gilder, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 24 November 2015.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□NIS□□□□□□□□□□NIA□□□□□□□□□SASS□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Consultation Document □Pretoria: Department of Public Service and Administration, 24 November 2006□.

[74].NM to Thabo Mbeki, 6 June 1994, DP Pres Mbeke, box 002, folder 11/1/1 – President, closed, NASA, Pretoria.

[75].Zola Skweyiya, O'Malley interview, 30 November 1995.

[76].National Planning Commission, Institutions and Governance Diagnostic, pp. 22-3.

[77].NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994; NM, debate on the President's Budget □‘ 100 Days Speech’□□ Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, South Africa, 18 August 1994.

[78].NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 17 February 1995.

* □□□□□□□□·□□□□Vincent Maphai□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1996□3□8□□□□□□□□□ □*Government Gazette*□□17020□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□ □□

1964□6□12□□□

1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□International Defence and Aid Fund□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□1996□9□□□

□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

councils□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□

1997□10□□□P. W.□□□□□□□□□□□

□·□□□

“□□□

“□□□

Matshikiza□□□□□·□□□□□Esme Matshikiza□□□□□□1991□□□□□2008□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□1960□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1993□□□□□□□□

[12].□□□□□·□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[28].Minutes of extended NWC, 7 September 1995, ANCLHM, box 14, folder 111, NMF, Johannesburg.

[29].NM, address to a rally in Cape Town on his release from prison, Cape Town City Hall, Cape Town, 11 February 1990.

[30].Saths Cooper, ‘The Mandela I Knew: Prof. Saths Cooper’, Tributes for Madiba, Nelson Mandela Foundation, 12 September 2013.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□□35□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[32].NM, Reply in Senate Debate on the President's Budget, 14 September 1994, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.

[33].NM, Toespraak van president by geleentheid van ’n onthaal deur die Burgeneester van Pretoria [Speech by the president at the occasion of a reception by the mayor of Pretoria], 26 August 1994.

* □□□□·□□□·□□□□□□“□□□”□

[35].Gert van der Weshuizen, ‘Mandela praat met Afrikaners“Om kommunikasie oop te hou”’ [Mandela talks to Afrikaners to ‘keep communication open’], Beeld, 29 June 1995; Kevin O'Grady, ‘Volk Meet Mandela’, Business Day, 29 June 1995.

[36].NM, Tydens'n besoek aan die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereninging □ATKV□[During a visit to the Afrikaans Language and Cultural Union], 17 August 1995; Beeld, 18 August 1995.

[37].NM, Tydens ‘n besoek aan die Ruiterwag-Saamtrek vir jong Afrikaner-Leiers [During a visit to the Ruiterwag rally for young Afrikaner leaders], 13 January 1996; Willem Pretorius, ‘Kies SAS of Afrikaner-Nelson’, Beeld, 15 January 1996.

[38].NM, opening remarks at a meeting with Afrikaner organisations, 29 March 1996.

[39].Ibid.

[40].Constand Viljoen, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 19 September 2015.

[41].Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, chapter 14, schedule 6: Transitional Arrangements, section 20, clause 5.

[42].Peet Kruger, ‘ Geheime gesprek lei tot deurbraak Onderhandelinge oor nuwe grondwet op koers’ [Secret talks lead to a breakthrough. Negotiations about new constitution on course], Beeld, 20 April 1996; Peet Kruger, ‘NP en VF se pogings het saam tot toegewing oor kultuurkommissie gelei’ [NP and VF's attempts have led to concessions over culture commission], 24 April 1996.

[43].Thabo Mbeki, discussions with Afrikaner community, National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 March 1999.

[44].NM, ‘Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy’, Reflections in Prison, p. 17.

[45].Ibid.

[46].Mandla Langa in conversation with Amtjie Krog during the writers’ conference, Cite de Livre, Aix-ed-Province, 1997.

[47].SA Times, London, 19 July 1995.

[48].Constand Viljoen, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 19 September 2015.

[49].Ibid.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□1991□6□□□□□□□□□□□

[57].NM, opening address in the Special Debate on the Report of the TRC, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 25 February 1999.

[58].bid.

[59].Human Sciences Research Council, Public Opinion on National Priority Issues (Pretoria, May 1999) p.55.

[60].NM, opening address in the President's Budget Debate in the National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 15 April 1997.

□□□□ □□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□1992□5□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□1994□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□□□□□□□□[10]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□

“□□□

* * * * *

□□□

“□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

“□□□

□□□

[1].Reconstruction and Development Programme □RDP□□ ‘Building the Economy’, clause 4.1.1, 1994.

[2].Ibid.

[3].Layashi Yaker, Preliminary Assesment on the Performance of the African Economy in 1994 and Prospects for 1995- End of Year Statement, presented to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa, 15 December 1994.

[4].Cabinet minutes, 11 May 1994.

[5].ANC National Conference, Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa Adapted at the National Conference, 28-31 May, 1992 □Johannesburg: Policy Unit of the ANC, 1992□.

[6].NM, address at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the South African Communist Party, 28 July 1996, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.

[7].ANC Working Committee discussion document: TEC Sub-council on Finance, 27 April 1993, box 14, 112, ANCLH, Johannesburg.

[8].William Smith, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 11 July 2014.

[9].NM, address at the National Assembly, Cape Town, 28 March 1996.

[10].NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1004.

[11].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 52.

* □□□·□□□□□“□□□”□

[13].Ibid.

[14].Native Life in South Africa before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion □1916□□Johannesburg: Raven's Press, 1982□□ p. 21.

[15].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 52.

[16].NM, preamble to the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, Government Gazette, notice no. 1954 of 1994, 23 November 1994.

[17].Ibid.

[18].NM, address to Parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, May 1994.

[19].Trevor Manuel, ‘Twenty Years of Economic Policymaking – Putting People First’, The Oxford Companion to the Economics of South Africa, edited by Haroon Bhorat, Alan Hirsch, Ravi Kanbur and Mthuli Ncube □Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014□□ p. 29; Alan Hirsch Season of Hope, p. 69.

[20].NM, interview by BBC, NMF, Johannesburg.

[21].Cabinet minutes, 26 October1994, Transforming the Public Sector: GNU's Contribution to the RDP, minute 7.4.2, item 1.3.

[22].Ibid.

[23].NM, preamble to the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, Government Gazett, notice no. 1954 of 1994, 23 November 1994.

[24].Patti Waldmeir, Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa □New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997□□ p. 213.

[25].NM, election campaign, Lenasia, 19 April 1999, tape 66772MT, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.

* □□□Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility, CCFF□□□□8.89□□□□□28□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[30].Sagie Narsiah, ‘Neoliberalism and Privatisation in South Africa’, GeoJournal, vol. 57, no 1, May 2002, p.3.

[31].ANC, Fiftieth National Conference, Resolutions, Economic Transformation, Mafikeng, December 16-29 1997, clause 3.2.2.

[32].NM, Southern Africa into Next Century, Sixteenth Singapore Lecture, 6 March 1997, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1997.

* □□□□□□1906□□□□—□□□□□□□□Greytown□□□□□□□□

27 August 1994.

[45].NM, address on the anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, 16 June 1994.

[46].NM, speech at the official opening of The Mandela Rhodes Foundation's offices, Oxford, 13 April 2000, NMF Tapes, Iqbal Meer Collection, Oxford 1 and 2, NMF, Johannesburg.

[47].NM, address at AIDS conference, Barcelona 12 July 2002, NMF Tapes, Iqbal Meer Collection #8, NMF, Johannesburg.

[48].NM, briefing editors, 9 May 1999, NMF Tapes, BBC collection, NMF, Johannesburg.

[49].□□□□□□2000□1□22□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[50].NM, State of the Nation Address, National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 5 February 1999.

[51].Anne Krigler and Mark Shaw, ‘Facts Show South Africa Has Not Become More Violent Since Democracy’, The Conversation, 22 July 2016.

[52].Francois Lotter, ‘“Wit koerante’ ignorer misdaadsatistiek-president’ [“White newspapers” ignoring the crime statistics – president], Beeld, 14 September 1998.

* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1997□□□□□□□□□□□F. W. □□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2005□□□□

[54].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 62.

[55].NM. Opening Morals Summit called by the National Religious Leaders Forum, 23 October 1998.

[56].Ibid.

[57].Allister Sparks, Beyond the Miracles, p. 16.

[58].NM, addressing the fifth national congress of COSATU, 7 September 1994, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.

[59].NM, State of the Nation Address, National Assembly, Cape Town, 5 February 1999.

[60].Ibid.

[61].NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.

□□□□ □□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□II□□□

□□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[11].NM, address to the International Press Institute Congress, Cape Town, 14 February 1994.

[12].Rehana Rossouw, ‘Everyone Wants a Piece of the President’, Mail & Guardian, 15 March 1996.

[13].NM, notes for a meeting with editors of KwaZlu-Natal newspapers, Cape Town, 2 March 1995, South Africa National Archive, Nelson Mandela Communication/Speeches: March, April, May 1995, NASA, Pretoria; Wyndham Hartley, ‘“Crackdown” is No Idle Threat’, Natal Witness, 3 March 1995.

[14].Pamela Dube, ‘It Takes two to Tango and Government is Learning the Communication Steps’, Sunday Independent, 8 July 2001.

[15].Thami Mazwai, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 7 October 2015.

[16].NM, note on an off-the–record conversation with the editor of Die Burger, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, folder 1, pp. 1-2, NMF, Johannesburg.

[17].Mandla Langa in conversation with Khulu Sibiya, June 2017.

[18].Jakes Gerwel, ‘The Day Mandela Was in Hustler’, Rapport, 9 June 2012.

[19].NM, speech at the launch of the Canadian Friends of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, SkyDome, Toronto, 25 September 1998.

[20].NM, address to the International Press Institute Congress, Cape Town, 14 February 1994.

[21].Khaba Mkhize, ‘Breakfast with Nelson Mandela’, Natal Witness, 19 August 1994; Ray Hartley, ‘ANC Broadsides Against Press’, Sunday Times, 4 September 1994; Thami Mazwai, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 7 October 2015.

[22].The television interview is referenced in ‘Some Black Newsmen Rapped for Secret Agenda’, Business Day, 3 November 1996.

[23].Guy Berger, Media and Racism in Mandela's Rainbow Nation’, Prime Time for Tolerance: Journalism and the Challenge of Racism: International Federation of Journalists World Conference, Bilbao, Spain, 2-4 May 1997.

[24].NM television interview, 11 November 1996, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg; ‘Some Black Newsmen Rapped for Secret

Agenda’, Business Day, 3 November 1996; ‘Mandela Slams Some Black Journalists’, Citizen, 13 November 1996.

[25].NM, note, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, p. 4, NMF, Johannesburg.

[26].NM, speech to the Fiftieth National Conference of the ANC, Mafikeng, 16 December 1997.

[27].NM, note, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, p. 4, NMF, Johannesburg.

[28].NM, note on response to the political report to the Fiftieth ANC Congress, December 1997, NMPP 2009/8 box 4, folder 1, pp. 1-2, NMF, Johannesburg.

[29].Ibid.

[30].Ibid.

[31].NM, address to the closing session of the Fiftieth National Congress of the ANC, 20 December 1997, Mafikeng.

[32].The Sowetan, 20 November 1996; Financial Mail, 22 November 1996.

[33].NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 33.

□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□

□OAU Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[8]□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

8.□□□□□Sadako Ogata□[†]
9.□□·□□□Kofi Annan□[‡]
□□□□□

□□□

□□□

□1998□□□

□□□

□□□

□□□

[14].□□□□□□□1997□5□21□□□□□□□

[31].NM, address at the inaugural session of the Twelfth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Durban, 2 September 1998.

[32].Ibid.

[33].NM, address to the Joint Houses of Congress of the USA, Washington, DC, 6 October 1994.

[34].NM, address to the Swedish Parliament, Stockholm, 18 March 1999.

[35].‘Mandela praises Gaddafi’, Sunday Times Foreign Desk, 20 May 1990; Fritz Joubert ‘Mense in VSA vies vir Mandela’[People in the USA are angry with Mandela], Beeld, 24 May 1990.

[36].Khalil I, Matar and Robert W. Thabit, Lockerbie and Libya: A study in International Relations London: McFarland & Company, Inc 2004.

[37].NM, Statement on Lockerbie drafted and released in Tunis, NMPP 2009/8, box6, file 8a, NMF, Johannesburg.

[38].‘SA Calls for Lifting of Sanctions on Libya’, The Star, 22 October 1997.

[39].OAU, Declarations and Decisions adopted by the Thirty-Third OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Harare, 2-4 June 1997.

[40].NM visits Libya, October 1997, tape 66786, MT22, SABC, SABC TV Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.

[41].Ibid.

[42].Lyn Boyd-Judson, Strategic Moral Diplomacy: Understanding the Enemy's Moral Universe West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 2011; Khalil I, Matar, Robert W. Thabit, Lockerbie and Libya.

[43].Lyn Boyd-Judson, Strategic Moral Diplomacy.

[44].NM, address to the Congress of the People, Libya, 19 March 1999.

□□

1990□2□11□□□

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□P. W.□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□

“□□□

[1].Grasa Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, 22 September 2016.

[2].NM to Winnie Mandela in Kroonstad Prison, 1 February 1975.

[3].Zelda la Grange, Good Morning Mr. Mandela: A Memoir □New York: Plume, 2015□□ p. 128.

[4].□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Phil Molefe□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□ □□□□□□□

ADFL □□□□—□□□□□□□□□ □Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire□

ANC □□□□□□□□□□□□□African National Congress□

ANCWL □□□□□□□□□□□ □African National Congress Women's League□

ANCYL □□□□□□□□□□ □African National Congress Youth League□

AVF □□□□□□□□ □Afrikaner Volksfront□

AWB □□□□□□□□□ □Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging□

CODESA □□□□□□ □Convention for a Democratic South Africa□

CONTRALESA □□□□□□□ □Congress of Traditional Leaders□

COSATU □□□□□□ □Congress of South African Trade Unions□

GNU □□□□□□ □Government of National Unity□

IEC □□□□□□□ □Independent Electoral Commission□

IFP □□□□□□ □Inkatha Freedom Party□

JSC □□□□□□□ □Judical Service Commission□

MK □□□□ □Umkhonto weSizwe□

MPLA □□□□□□□□□ □Movimento Popular de Liberacao de Angola □The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola□□

NAM □□□□□ □Non-aligned Movement□

NCPS □□□□□□□□ □National Crime Prevention Strategy□

NEC □□□□□□□ □National Executive Committee□

NIA □□□□□ □National Intelligence Agency□

NP □□□ □National Party□

OAU □□□□□□ □Organisation of African Unity□

PAC □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □Pan Africanist Congress of Azania□

SACP □□□□□ □South African Communist Party□

SADC □□□□□□□□□ □Southern African Development Community□

SADF □□□□□ □South African Defence Forces□

SACTU □□□□□□□ □South Africa Congress of Trade Unions□

SAIC □□□□□□□ □South African Indian Congress□

SANDF □□□□□ □South African National Forces□

SAPS □□□□□□ □South African Police Service□

SASS □□□□□ □South African Secret Service□

SAUF □□□□□□ □South African United Front□

SWAPO □□□□□□□□ □South West Africa People's Organisation□

TEC □□□□□□□□□ □Transitional Executive Council□

TRC □□□□□□□□ □Truth and Reconciliation Commission□

UDF □□□□□□ □United Democratic Front□

UNITA □□□□□□□□□□□□□ □Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola□National Union for the Total Independence of Angola□□

□□□ □□□□□□□□□

1960□□□□□□State of Emergency, 1960□

□□□□□1960□3□30□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pietermaritzburg Treason Trial□□1994□□□□□□□□□□1999□□□□1993—1996□□□□□□□□□□□□□World Peace Council□□□□□2003□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, PAC□

1959□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□□·□□□Oliver Reginald Tambo□□□□□OR□1917—1993

□□□□□

Community College□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Rutgers University□□□□1982□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1983□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1990□□□□□□□□1991□□□□□□□□□□□□□1990□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□

□□□□·□□□□□□Archbishop Desmond Tutu□□1931—

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1976—1978□□□□□□□□□□1978□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1994□□□1984□□□□□□□□□□1986□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Albert Schweitzer Prize for Humanitarianism□□2005□□□□□□□□□□

□□·□□□·□□□□□Tito Titus Mboweni□□1959—

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1980□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1990□□□□□□1994□□1998□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1998□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1998□7□□□1999□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2010□6□□□□□□□□□Goldman Sachs International□□□□□□□

□□□□□·□□□□—□□□Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma□□1949—

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1978□□□□□□□□□□University of Bristol□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□African National Congress□ANC□

1912□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1923□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1960□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□1979—1982□□P. W. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1982□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Andries Treurnicht□□□□□□□1993□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1975□□□

□□·□□□□Helen Joseph□□□□□□□□□□Fennell□□1905—1992

□□□□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□□Jakes Gerwel□.□□□□□·□□□□·□□□□Gert Johannes Gerwel□□1946—2012

1994—1999□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1978□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1980□□□□□□□□□□□1985□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□Chris Hani□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Thembisile Hani□□1942—1993

□□□□□□□□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□Rivonia Trial□

□□□□□1963—1964□□□□□10□□□□□□

□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1960□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□·□□·□□□□□Mangosuthu Gatcha Buthelezi□

□□1928□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1979□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1975□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□□□1994—2004□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1994□4□27□□1997□2□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□88□□2□□□□□□□□□□□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□Communist Party South Africa□South African Communist Party□CPSA□SACP□

1921□□□□□□Communist Party of South Africa□CPSA□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1950□□□□□□□□South Africa Communist Party□SACP□□1990□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□·□□□Pallo Jordan□□□□□□□□□□□·□□·□□□Zweledinga Pallo Jordan□□1942—

□□□□□□□□□□□□□1975□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1979—1988□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□Eduardo Mondlane University□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1982□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□·□□□□Joe Slovo□□1926—1995

□□□□□□□□□1949□□□□·□□□□□□□□□

□□·□□□□George Fivaz□□1945—

□□□·□□□□

□□□·□□·□□□Stephen Bantu Biko□□1946—1977

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1968□□□□□□□□□□South African Students Organisation, SASO□□□1969□□□□□□□□□□□1972□□□□□□□□□□Black People's Convention□□□□□□□□1973□□□□□□□□□□□1977□8□□□□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□·□□□□Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje□□□□□□□□Sol□□1876—1932

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□Development Committee, International Monetary Fund□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□Ban Ki-Moon□□□□□□□□□□□2011□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Transitional Committee of the Green Climate Fund□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□·□□□□Thomas Titus Nkobi□□1922—1994

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1950□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1955□□□□□□□□□1958□□□□□□□□□□□1960□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□M□□”□□□□□□□□□1963□□□□□□□□□□□□□1968—1973□□□□□□□□□□□□1990□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□·□□□Tony Trew□□1941—

□□□□□□□□□□□□□1964—1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1980□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1991□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1994—1999□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□·□□□Valli Moosa□□□□□□□□□·□□·□□□Mohammed Valli Moosa□□1957—

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1989□10□□□□□1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1985□10□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□1962□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□Inkatha Freedom Party□IFP□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□1975□□□□1990□7□14□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□1993□12□□□

□□□

□□□ □□□□□□1990—1999□

1990□2□11□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1990□2□27□□1962□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1990□5□4□□□□F. W. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1993□12□18□□□

1995□8□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Alexandra□□□□□□□□□□□

1995□9□3□□□□□□□East Timor□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Suharto□□□□

1995□10□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1995□11□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1995□11□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□

1996□1□13□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□1□23□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□—□□□□□□□□□

1996□2□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□2□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□3□19□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□

1996□5□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□5□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□6□14□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□

1996□6□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□7□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□7□14□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□9□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□

1996□9□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□11□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□11□27□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□12□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1996□12□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1997□2□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1997□5□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1997□11□22□□□

1998□10□22□□□

□□□ □□□□□□1996

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1994□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1910—1994□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□9□□□□

老省	新省
好望角省（Cape of Good Hope，简称开普省［Cape］）	东开普省（Eastern Cape） 北开普省（Northern Cape） 西开普省（Western Cape）
纳塔尔省（Natal）	夸祖鲁–纳塔尔省（KwaZulu Natal）
奥兰治自由邦省（Orange Free State）	自由邦省（Free State）
德兰士瓦省（Transvaal）	西北省（North West） 林波波省（Limpopo） 姆普马兰加省（Mpumalanga） 豪滕省（Gauteng）

东兰德
伯诺尼
杰米斯顿
肯普顿帕克
约翰内斯堡
亚历山德拉
雷顿
纳斯雷克
里沃尼亚
索韦托
克勒普敦
奥兰多
加贺库卢
林波波省
莱博瓦
内尔斯特鲁姆
威特班克
内尔斯普雷特
瓦尔曼斯特尔
比勒陀利亚
豪滕省
怀特里弗
济勒斯特
姆马巴托
马菲肯
西北省
姆普马兰加省
贝瑟尔
姆巴巴内
斯威士兰
埃瓦顿
博伊帕通
沙佩维尔
波切夫斯特鲁姆
克莱克斯多普
弗雷堡
斯坦德顿
库鲁曼
克龙斯塔德
弗雷黑德
阿平顿
韦尔科姆
伯利恒
金伯利
布兰德堡
自由邦省
夸祖鲁—纳塔尔省
布隆方丹
特拉斯特费德
格劳特维尔保护区
博察贝洛
马塞卢
莱索托
南非
豪伊克
奥兰治
彼得马里茨堡
德班
德阿尔
北开普省
贾布
排洛
谢普斯通港
卡尔维尼亚
西维多利亚
范伦斯多普
米德尔堡
恩戈佐博
乌姆塔塔
库努
昆斯敦
姆克兹韦尼
加马塔
姆埃佐
西博福特
东开普省
姆甘杜利
克拉多克
博福特堡
艾里斯
比绍
佩迪
东伦敦
格雷尼姆斯敦
罗本岛
桌湾
帕尔
西开普省
奥茨胡恩
开普敦
斯泰伦博斯
斯韦伦丹
维德尼斯
塞奇菲尔德
伊丽莎白港
波卡普
古古莱图
兰加
马特鲁斯方丹
米切尔斯普莱恩
尼扬加
菲利皮
东龙德博斯
海角区
西蒙斯敦

□10□□□

班图斯坦	语言	新省
博普塔茨瓦纳 * (Bophuthatswana)	茨瓦纳 (Tswana)	自由邦省 北开普省 西北省
西斯凯 * (Ciskei)	科萨 (Xhosa)	东开普省
加赞库卢 (Gazankulu)	聪加 (Tsonga)	林波波省 姆普马兰加省
夸恩格瓦尼 (KwaNgwane)	斯威士 (Swazi)	姆普马兰加省
夸恩德贝勒 (KwaNdebele)	恩德贝勒 (Ndebele)	姆普马兰加省
夸祖鲁 (KwaZulu)	祖鲁 (Zulu)	夸祖鲁–纳塔尔省
莱博瓦 (Lebowa)	索托 (Sotho)	林波波省
夸夸瓦 (QwaQwa)	索托 (Sotho)	自由邦省
特兰斯凯 * (Transkei)	科萨 (Xhosa)	东开普省
文达 * (Venda)	文达 (Venda)	林波波省

* 种族隔离政府在 1976—1981 宣布这四个班图斯坦“独立”。

□□

□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Nelson Mandela Foundation website□□□□□□□□ https://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/speeches

□□□□□·□□□□Padraig O'Mally□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□O'Mally Archive□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□the Heart of Hope□□□□□□□□□□ https://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv00017.htm

□□□

ANCLH□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ANC Luthuli House□

AP□□□□□Associated Press□

NASA□□□□□□□□□National Archives of South Africa□

NCOP□□□□□□□□□□□□□National Council of Provinces□

NEC□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□National Executive Committee [of the ANC]□

NM□□□□·□□□□Nelson Mandela□

NMF□□□□·□□□□□□□Nelson Mandela Foundation□

NMPP□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Nelson Mandela's Private Papers□

SABC□□□□□□□□South African Broadcasting Corporation□

SAPA□□□□□□□□□South African Press Association□

SAPS□□□□□□□South African Police Service□

TRC□□□□□□□□□□Truth and Reconciliation Commission□

□□

1971□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Fatima Meer□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Harris, Sloan Harris, Ruth Hobday, Jenny Moore, Georgina Morley, Terry Morris and Andrea Nattrass□□□□□□□Andrea□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□The Industrial Development Corporation□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

*□□□□□□□Mari Harris□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□10: Paul Weinberg/South Photographs/Africa Media Online

□11: Nanda Soobben/Africa Media Online

□12: Lewis Horwitz courtesy Nelson Mandela Foundation

□13: Alexander Joe/AFP/Getty Images

□14: Foto24/Gallo Images/ Getty Images

□15: unknown courtesy Nelson Mandela Foundation

□16: Nelson Mandela Foundation, photograph by Ardon Bar-Hama

□17: Paul Weinberg/South Photographs/Africa Media Online

□18□19: Oryx Media Archive/Gallo Images/Getty Images

□20: Obed Zilwa/AP

□21: Mike Hutchings/Reuters

□22: Nelson Mandela Foundation, photograph by Ardon Bar-Hama

□23: Walter Dhladhla/Getty Images

□24: Henner Frankenfeld/ Picturenet Africa

□25: Adil Bradlow/Africa Media Online

□26: David Goldblatt/South Photographs/Africa Media Online

□27: Guy Tillim/AFP/Getty Images

28: Clinton Presidential Library

29: Yoav Lemmer/Getty Images

30: Nelson Mandela Foundation, photograph by Ardon Bar-Hama

31: Pool BASSIGNAC/BUU/HIRES/Getty Images

32: Eric Miller courtesy Nelson Mandela Foundation

33 34: Julian Parker/Getty Images

35: Amr Nabil/Getty Images

36: Str Old/Reuters

37: Media24/Gallo Images/Getty Images

38: Nelson Mandela Foundation, photograph by Ardon Bar-Hama

39: Juda Ngwenya

40: Paul Grendon/Alamy

41: Ross Kinnaird/ EMPICS/Getty Images

42: Oryx Media Archive/Gallo Images/Getty Images

43: Walter Dhladhla/ Getty Images

44: Adil Bradlow/Africa Media Online

45: Louise Gubb/lugubb@iafrica. Com

46: Louise Gubb/lugubb@iafrica.com

47: Benny Gool

48: Eric Miller courtesy Nelson Mandela Foundation

49: Eric Miller courtesy Nelson Mandela Foundation

50: Zapiro

□□

A

□□·□□□□□Abe Williams□

□□□□·□□□□□□Abdullah Abdurahman□

□□□□·□□□Adelaide Tambo□

□□□□□·□□□□Albertina Sisulu□

□□□□·□□□·□□□□□□Chief Albert Mvumbi Luthuli□

□□□□□□□hope for South Africa□

□□□□□□□ANC role□

□□□□□□□Mandela's tributes to□

□□□□□□□Nobel peace prize□

□□□□□□view of a chief□

□□□writings□

□□□□□·□□□□Alpheus Madiba□

□□□□□·□□□□□Bishop Alpheus Zulu□

□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□Alfred Baphetuxolo Nzo□

□□□□·□□□□□Arnold Stofile□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination□

□□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner Resistance Movement, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging AWB□

□□□□□□□/□□□□□volkstaat□

□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner Volksfront, AVF, Afrikaner People's Front□

□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner Broederbond□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Afrikaanse Taal-en Kultuurvereniging, ATKV, Afrikaans Language and Cultural Association□

□□□□□·□□□Agostinho Neto□

□□□□□□□The Argus□

□□·□□□□Allan Boesak□

□□·□□□Alan Hirsch□

□□□□·□□□□□Allister Sparks□

□□□□·□·□□□Alex La Guma□

□□□·□□□□□Amina Cachalia□

□□□·□□□·□□□□Aziz Goolam Pahad□

□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, PAC□

□□□□banned□

□□□□□□proportional representation□

□□□□□□□□government participation discussions□

□□□unbanned□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□□□Mandela's speech□

□□□□□□□□Masemola's role□

□□□origins□

□□□□□□□□relationship with ANC□

□□□□□□□□□□Azanian People's Liber-ation Army, APLA□

□□□□□□□□□Azanian People's Organ-isation, AZAPO□

□□□Egypt□

□□·□□□□□□Amy Kleynhans□

□□□·□□□□□John Matshikiza□

□□□·□□□□Essop Pahad□

□□□·□□□Al Gore□

□□□□·□·□□□Ben Bella, Ahmed□

□□□□·□□□□□Ahmed Kathrada□

□□□release from prison□

□□□imprisonment□

□□□□□□Lusaka conference□

□□□□□on Mandela□

□□□□□presidential adviser□

□□□·R.□□□Amory R. Houghton, Jr□

□□□□AIDS□

□□□□□□Prince Edward□

□□□·□□□□André Brink□

□□□·□□□·□□□□□Andrew Mokete Mlangeni□

□□·□□□□Anton Lembede□

□□□□·□□□□Antonio Gramsci,□

□□□□Angola□

□□□□□□solidarity with South Africa□

□□□□□□Kassinga Massacre□

□□□□□□□□MK mutiny□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□UNITA□

□□□□□□□□□□MPLA□

□□□□□□ANC camps□

□□□□□end of Civil War□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Force African Peoples Liberation Army, FAPLA□

□□·□□□□Antjie Krog□

□□□□□·□□□□Obadias Ndaba□

□□·□□□□Albie Sachs□

□□□·□□□□·□□□Oliver Reginald Tambo, OR□

□□□□□□ANC presidency□

□□□leadership□

□□□□□□□SAUF□

□□□illness□

□□□death□

□□□□□□Constitutional Committee□

□□□□□□□consensus policy□

□□□□□musical performances□

□□□□influence□

□□□□□□□relationship with Hani□

□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela□

□□□strategies□

□□□□□□return from exile□

□□□□□□tributes to□

□□□·□□□□Omar Motani□

□□□·□□□□Oprah Winfrey□

□□□·□□□□□·□□□□Oscar Mafakafaka Mpetha□

□□□□□Autshumao□□□□□□Autshumayo□

B

□□·□□□□□Barry Feinberg□

□□□·□□□—□□□□Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile□

□□□□□□□1906□□Bambatha Rebellion, 1906□

□□□□□□□Chief Bambatha□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Basel Committee Core Principles Liaison Group□

□□·□□□□‘Basie’ Smit,□

□□□·□□□·□□□·□□□□□Barbara Mosima Joyce Masekela□

□□□□□□□Operation Boreas□

□□□□□□Prince Bandar□

□□·□□□Paul Taylor□

□□·□□□□□Bantu Holomisa□

□□□□□□accompanying Mandela□

□□□□□□□expulsion from ANC□

□□□career□

□□□□□media stories□

□□□□influence□

□□□□□□□1951□□Bantu Authorities Act, 1951□

□□□□□Bantustans□

1983□□□□□□□□□□status under South African Constitution□1983□

□□□□□□□Buthelezi's position□

□□□□□□□□status of traditional leaders□

□□□□□defence forces□

□□□corruption□

□□□□□□□ANC position□

□□□reorganization□

□□□parties□

□□□origins□

□□□□□intelligence agencies□

□□□□□□□Mandela's views□

□□□□□□□Mandela's visits□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□Conservative Party, CP□

□□·□□□□Bheki Ntuli□

□□·□□□□□Bheki Mlangeni□

□□□□□□□□Shell House shootings□

□□□·□□□Beryl Baker□

□□□·□□□□□Betsie Verwoerd□

□□□·□□□□Boris Yeltsin□

□·□□□□□Ben Ngubane□

□□·□□□Bill Keller□

□□·□□□□Bill Clinton□

□□·□□□Billy Nannan□

□□□□□□□□□Pretoria Minute□

□□□·□□□□Bizima Karaha□

□□—□□·□□□□Pieter-Dirk Uys□

□□·□□□□Peter Mokaba□

□□·□□□□Popo Molefe□

□□□□□□□□Pollsmoor Prison□

□□□□□□□Mandela in□

□□□□□release of prisoners□

□□□□□□□□Botswana Defence Force, BDF□

□□·□□□□Botha J. Sigcau□

□□□□□□□□Boipatong massacre□

□□□·□□□□Bram Fischer□

□□□·□□□□Brian Mitchell□

□□□□·□□□□□Brigitte Mabandla□

□□□□□□□□Burundi Peace Process□

C

C. L. R. □□□□C. L. R. James□

□□□□□□□□City Press□

□□□□□□□□□□White Paper on Recon-struction and Development□

□□□□□□□□Reconstruction and Develop-ment Programme, RDP□

□□□□office□

□□□□□□□analysis of economy□

□□□□□□□ANC initiative□

□□□□□□□National Party's attitude to□

□□□dissolution□

□□□creation□

□□□role□

□□□objectives□

□□□financing□

□□□□□land reform□

□□□responsibility□

□□□implementation□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Commission for the Promotion and

Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities□□□CRL Commission□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act□

D

□□□□□·□□□□□□□Dalindyebo Ngangelizwe□

□□□□□Congress Alliance□

□□□·□□□□Denis Goldberg□

□□□·□□□□□Derek Hanekom□

□□□·□□□Derek Keys□

□□□□·□□□□□□Archbishop Desmond Tutu□

□□□□□□□view of ‘gravy train’□

□□□□□□□Mandela's release□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□TRC role□

□□□□□□□□□□□Local Government Transition Act□

□□·□□□·□□□□□Tito Titus Mboweni□

□□·□□□□□□□Tienie Groenewald□

□□□□□□Commission of Inquiry□

□□□□□□□□Independent Electoral Commission, IEC□

□□□□□□Independent Complaints Directorate, ICD□

□□·□□□Duma Nokwe□

□□□□□The Conversation□

□□□□□□□Multiparty Negotiating Forum□

□□□□□□□□Operation Mayibuye□

E

20□□□□Group of 20□

□□□□·□□□□□□Ngoako Ramatlhodi□

□□□□□□·□□□□□Ngangomhlaba Matanzima□

□□□□□·□□□□—□□□Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma□

□□□□□□□□□AIDS prevention musical□

□□□□□□□□memories of Mandela□

□□□□□allegations of corruption□

□□□□□□□□tobacco issue□

F

F. W. □□□□/□□□□□·□□·□□□□□F. W. de Klerk/ Frederik Willem de Klerk□

□□□□□□□□volkstaat issue□

□□□□□security issues□

□□□□□□□□□referendum of white voters□

□□□□office□

□□□□□□□reviled by ANC□

□□□□□□□□Shell House shootings□

□□□□□□Botha's invitation□

□□□□□□□□□□public criticism of ANC□

□□□□□□□□□view of final constitu-tion□

□□□□deputy president□

□□□□□□□on Ramaphosa□

□□□□□□□□□National Security Management System□

□□□□□□□□□challenges within National Party□

□□□□□response to violence□

□□□□□□□response to election results□

□□□□□□□response to right-wing threat□

□□□□□□□□generals’ plot against□

□□□□□State of Emergency□

□□□—□□□□□□□KwaZulu-Natal violence□

□□□leadership□

□□□□□media coverage□

□□□□□cabinet decision-making□

□□□□□□□role in cabinet□

□□□□□□□□ruling troika suggestion□

□□□□□□□□□□indemnity for police and cabinet ministers□

□□□□□□□□amnesty clash□

□□□□□release of prisoners□

□□□□□□□□□□□funding for IFP□

□□□□□□□□□withdrawal from GNU□

□□□□□□□beauty pageant issue□

□□□election campaign□

□□□□□□□□tobacco issue□

□□□□□□□□□relationship with traditional leaders□

□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela□

□□□□□□□meeting with Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□Truth and Reconcilia-tion Commission□

□□□□□unbanning of political organisa-tions□

□□□□□□□□chairing cabinet committees□

□□□cabinet formation issues□

□□·□□□□□□□Fanie Pretorius□

□□·□□□□□van der Merwe, Fanie van der Merwe□

□□□□·□□□□□Fanuel Kozonguizi□

□□□□□□□□□1946□□African Mine Workers’ Strike, 1946□

1990□□□□summit, 1990□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution□

□□—□□□□□□Congo-Zaire talks□

□□□□□□Libya issues□

□□□□1994□□□□□Mandela's address, 1994□

□□□□□□role of South Africa□

□□□□□□□/□□□□African National Congress, ANC□

1912□□□□□□□founding conference, 1912□

1991□□□□□□□□National Conference, 1991□

1992□□□□□□□□National Conference, 1992□

1994□□□□□□election manifesto, 1994□

1997□□□□□□□□National Conference, 1997□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner Accord on Self-Determination□

□□□□□□□Angola camps□

□□□□Group of Eight□

□□□□□□Shell House headquarters□

□□□□unbanned□

□□□□banned□

□□□□□□□□traditional African leadership role□

□□□□□□□□house of traditional leaders□

□□□□□□□□□□RDP policy□

□□□□founders□

□□□chief whip□

□□□□□caucus meetings□

□□□□□□□‘gravy train’ criticisms□

□□□□□national anthem question□

□□□□□international relationships□

□□□□□□foreign missions□

□□□□□□□□□□public ownership/privatisation issues□

□□□□□□□□preparations for transi-tion to government□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hani's memorandum to leadership□

□□□□□economic plans□

□□□□□□Department of Economic Policy□

□□□□□police relations□

□□□□□□□expulsion of Holomisa□

□□□□□Xhosa issues□

□□□history□

□□□□leadership□

□□□exile□

□□□□□□□leadership in exile□

□□□□□□Lusaka conference□

□□□□□Defiance Campaign□

□□□□□populist tendencies□

□□□□□□□□□□□‘Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa’, 1989□

□□□□□□□Nasrec conference□

□□□□□□□□SADF meetings□

□□□□□□cabinet debates□

□□□□□□□□□cabinet caucus□

□□□□□cabinet briefing□

□□□□□cabinet positions□

□□□□□□□□personnel in intelligence agencies□

□□□□□□□□National Working Committee, NWC□

□□□□□□□□National Executive Committee, NEC□

□□□□□Tripartite Alliance□

□□□election victory□

□□□□□suspension of talks□

□□—□□□□toyi-toyi dance□

□□□□□cultural unit□

□□□□□□Constitutional Committee□

□□□□□□□□policy towards negot-iations□

□□□□□□□gender equality issues□

□□□election campaign□

□□□□□□□□transfer of power to□

□□□□□parliamentary caucus□

□□□□□□□Parliament location issues□

□□□□□□□□relationship with PAC□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Record of Understanding with NP□

□□□□□□□□Mandela's relationship with□

□□□□□□□media relations□

□□□□□□□□Inkatha relations□

□□□□□□□□□talks with right-wing generals□

□□□□□□talks with government□

□□□□□□□□□□□negotiators with apartheid regime□

□□□□□policy documents□

□□□government□

□□□□□□□accused of racism□

□□□□□□□□housing targets□

□□□□□□□Freedom Charter□

□□□□□presidency□

□□□□□□□□□□□African National Congress Women's League, ANCWL□

□□□□□□□□□□□African National Congress Youth League, ANCYL□

□□□□□□□□Buthelezi's position□

□□□members□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□□□Mandela's position□

□□□influence□

□□□□□□□Organisation of African Unity, OAU□

□□□□Afrikaans language□

□□□□□□□use in schools□

□□□rehabilitation□

□□□□□□□Mandela's use of□

□□□□□□□Mandela's approach to□

□□□□□□□Mandela's study of□

□□□press□

□□□anthem□

□□□·□□□□□Fidel Castro□

□□□□·□□□□□Ferdinand Hartzenberg□

□□□·□□□·□□□□Frene Noshir Ginwala□

□□□□□□□□memories of Mandela□

□□□□□□□advice to Mandela□

□□□career□

□□□□□□□□□Vlakplaas Unit□

□□□□·□□□□François Mitterrand□

□□□·□□□Frank Dutton□

□□□·□□□□Frank Chikane□

G

□□·□□□□Govan Mbeki□

□□□□□□□senate deputy president□

□□□□□□Lusaka conference□

□□□□□□□relationship with Hani□

□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela□

□□□songs□

□□□□traditional□

□□□□revolutionary□

□□□national anthems□

□□□liberation□

□□□□□□□Nasrec conference□

□□□□□□□‘Sekunjalo’□

□□□□□□□□for Mandela□

□□□□·□□□Georg Meiring□

□□□□□□□complaint on language policy□

□□□□□□□□□□□commitment to serve Mandela's government□

□□□resignation□

□□□□successor□

□□□□□□□□□□□□report fabricated by Military Intelligence Department□

□□□□□□□□□□Joint Military Coordinating Committee□

□□□□□integration process□

□□□□□□□meetings with Mandela□

□□□□□□□meetings with Viljoen□

□□□□·□□□□□Gladys Nzilane□

□□□·□□□□Graça Machel□

□□□□□□□□memories of Mandela□

□□□□□observing elections□

□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela□

□□□□□□□marriage to Mandela□

□□□□Gecelo□

□□□□□□□1995□□Rugby World Cup, 1995□

□□□□□□□□civil service□

□□□□□□□□Public Service Commission□

□□□□□□□□Commission for Public Administration, CPA□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Die Burger□

□□□□□□□□□□The Citizen□

□□□□·□□□□□·□·□□□□□□□King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu□

□□□□□□□The Gugulethu Seven□

□□□national anthem□

□□□□□International Court of Justice□

□□□□□□□□□□□International Press Institute□

□□□□□□□□□International Monetary Fund, IMF□

□□□□□□□□□□□International Monetary and Financial Committee□

□□□□□□□□□□International Defence and Aid Fund□

□□□□□□□□□□International Organisation of Securities Commissions□

□□□□□□□□□National Security Manage-ment System□

□□□□□□□□State Security Council, SSC□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□National Economic Development and Labour Council□

□□□□□□National Intelligence Agency, NIA□

□□□□□□National Intelligence Service, NIS□

□□□□□□□□□□National Intelligence Coordinating Committee□

□□□□□□□□□National Crime Prevention Strategy, NCPS□

□□□□National Party□

□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner support□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner Accord on Self-Determination□

□□□□□Bantustans□

□□□□□□finance minister□

□□□established□

□□□members□

□□□□□□□□□challenges to De Klerk□

□□□□□□□□□□□□attitude to RDP□

□□□□□sub-councils□

□□□□□□official mouthpiece□

□□□national anthem□

□□□□□□□National Assembly mem-bers□

□□□□□□□responses to election results□

□□□□□□□□Kriegler's report□

□□□□□Federal Congress□

□□□□□□□□□Mandela's view of□

□□□□□media coverage□

□□□□□media representation□

□□□□□□□□□□□allocation of posts in GNU□

□□□□□cabinet decisions□

□□□□□cabinet positions□

□□□□□□□drafting of final constitution□

□□□□□□□□lacking capacity to change□

□□□□□identity crisis□

□□□□□□□□ruling troika sugge-stion□

□□□□□□minority partner□

□□□□□□□agreement to adoption of constitution□

□□□□□□□□□withdrawal from GNU□

□□□□□New National Party□

□□□□□penal system□

□□□□□election machinery□

□□□□□election results□

□□□□□electoral decline□

□□□election campaign□

□□□□□□□□□□IMF loan□

□□□□□□□□□relationship with traditional leaders□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Record of Understanding with ANC□

□□□□□□□□□□□relationship with IFP□

□□□□□□□strategic policy group□

□□□in power□

□□□□□apartheid□

□□□□□□□□□transfer of power to ANC□

□□□□□□□departures from□

H

□□·□□□□□Harry Belafonte□

□□·□□□□Heidi Dennis□

□□·□□□□Helen Joseph□

□□·□□□Hank Cohen□

□□□□□□Hustler□

□□□□Day of Reconciliation□

□□□□□□□Rapport□

□□□□□□□Dutch Reformed Church□

□□·□□□□□Hettie September□

□□□·□□□□□Hermann Giliomee□

□□□□·□□□□Hernus Kriel□

□□□□□□□Black Editors Forum□

□□□□□□□Black Consciousness Movement□

□□□□□□Black Sash□

□□□□·□□□·□□□□□Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd□

□□□·□□□□□Hosni Mubarak□

□□□□□□□□□□□Indian Ocean Rim Association□

J

J. B. □□□□J. B. Marks□

□□□·□□□□□Prince Gideon Zulu,□

□□·□□□□Gill Marcus□

□□□□·□□□Jabulani Xaba□

□□□□□·□□□□Jawaharlal Nehru□

□□·□□□□Jeff Radebe□

□□·□□□□Jackie Selebi□

□□·□□□□Jack Swart□

□□□·□□□□Jakes Gerwel□

□□□□□□Lockerbie negotiations□

□□□career□

□□□appointment□

□□□□□□on Buthelezi□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□on GNU decision making□

□□□□□□on intelligence briefings□

□□□□□on Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□on Mandela's office□

□□□□□□□□□□drafting Mandela's speeches□

□□□□·□□□□□Geraldine Moleketi□

□□·□□□□Jermaine Jackson□

□□·□□□·□□□□□Jessie Yasmin Duarte□

□□□□□□□□arrival at presidential office□

□□□□□□□□memories of Mandela□

□□□career□

□□·□□□Jay Naidoo□

□□□□□□□□□□Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army□

□□□□□1960□□State of Emergency, 1960□

□□□lifting□

□□□□□Ruiterwag□

□□□□□□Progressive Federal Party□

K

□□□·□□□□□Kader Asmal□

□□·□·□□□□□□Carl von Clausewitz□

□□□·□□□□□Kgalema Motlanthe□

□□□□□□□Justice Cameron□

□□□□□Ken Saro-Wiwa□

□□□□□□□Cape Times□

□□·□□□□Ketso Gordhan□

□□·□□□□□Kaiser Matanzima□

□□□□·□□□□Constand Viljoen□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Afrikaner Volksfront, AVF plans□

□□□□□□Botha's invitation□

□□□□□□□□view of Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□□response to ANC election victory□

□□□□□joining negotiations□

□□□□□□□□□Mandela's view of□

□□□□□□□□Mandela's meeting with□

□□□□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela's presidency□

□□□□□amnesty issues□

□□□□□Freedom Front□

□□·□□□Kobie Coetzee□

□□□·□□□Kobus Visser□

□□·□□□Kofi Annan□

□□□□□·□□□□□□King Xolilizwe Sigcau□

□□·□□□□□Khosi Tshivhase□

□□□□□□□the Cradock Four□

□□□□·□□□□Clarence Makwetu□

□□□·□□—□□□□Clive Derby-Lewis□

□□□·□□□□Chris Fismer□

□□□·□□□Chris Hani□

□□□assassination□

□□□□□□□□□□□criticisms of ANC leadership□

□□□□□□□□□Mandela's view of□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's TV speech on his assassination□

□□□character□

□□□·□□□□□Chris Liebenberg□

□□□·□□□□□Chris Streeter□

□□□□·□□□□Christo Brand□

□□□·□□□□Kenneth Kaunda□

□□□·□□□·□□□□□Kenneth Kgagudi Sekhukhune□

□□□Qunu□

□□□—□□□□KwaZulu-Natal□

□□□□□□□□□□Bambatha poll tax rebellion, 1905□

□□□□□□□□Buthelezi's position□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's speech in Durban after his release□

□□□□□□□Mandela's visit□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's attitude to traditional leaders□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's threat to withdraw funding□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's relationship with Buthelezi□

□□□□□□□□□□De Klerk's approach to Mandela□

□□□□□□status of king□

□□□□□□□□□□□□tension over Constitution drafting□

□□□name of province□

□□□elections□

□□□□□□□□□□government strategy to stem violence□

□□□□□□□□continuing political violence□

□□□□□□AIDS issues□

□□□□□□□□□□IFP's position□

□□□□□□□Investigation Task Unit□

□□□□□□□KwaZulu Self-Protection Force□

□□□□□□Great Miners’ Strike□

□□·□□□□Quett Masire□

□□·□□□Quincy Jones□

L

□□□□□·□□□□□Labotsibeni Gwamile□

□□□·□□□□Rusty Evans□

□□□·□□□□Layashi Yaker□

□□□·□□□□Leepile Taunyane□

□□·□□□□□Legau Mathabathe□

□□□□□□□□Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane□

□□·□□□□□Lenah Ntsweni□

□□·□□□□Rhyne Thulare□

□□□□□□□□□Lesotho, military interv-ention□

□□□□□□□Lesotho Defence Force□LDF□

□□□·□□□Langston Hughes□

□□□·□□□□Lansana Gberie□

□□□□□□□□□Labour Market Commission□

□□□·□□□□Lawrence Schlemmer□

□□□·□□□□Raymond Mhlaba□

□□□·□□□□Raymond Suttner□

□□·□□□□Retha Harmse□

□□·□□□□Rica Hodgson□

□□□□□□□Rivonia Trial□

□□□defendants□

□□□□□defence argument□

□□□□□defence team□

□□□□prosecutor□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's speech from dock□

□□□□□release of prisoners□

□□□·□□□□□Richard Stengel□

□□□·□□□□Richard Maponya□

□□□□Libya□

□□·□□□□·□□□□Lilian Masediba Ngoyi□

□□□□/□□□□Union Buildings□

□□□□□□□□□Mandela's inaugur-ation□

□□□□□□marches on□

□□□□□□presidential office□

□□□□United Nations□

1993□□□□□□□□Mandela's address, 1993□

1994□□□□□□□□Mandela's speech, 1994□

□□□□□□□ANC appeal□

□□—□□□□□□Congo-Zaire talks□

□□□□□□□□□resolutions against apartheid□

□□□□□□□Kosovo issues□

□□□□□□□□Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD□

□□□□□□South African debt□

□□□□□□South African role□

□□□□□□□□Gaddafi's relationship□

□□□□□□□relationship with South Africa□

□□□□□□□□□suspension of South Africa□

□□□□□□□United Democratic Movement, UDM□

□□□□□□□United Democratic Front, UDF□

□□□achievements□

□□□□□□□KwaMakhutha massacre□

□□□□leadership□

□□□origins□

□□□□□□□□Mandela's communi-cations with□

□□□□□□□□Inkatha relations□

□□□□□□□□□□Joint Military Coordinating Committee□

□□·□□□Lynda Chalker□

□□·□□□□□Leon Wessels□

□□·□□□□□□Ronnie Kasrils□

□□□·□□□□Luis□

□□□·□□□□Louis Luyt□

□□□·□□□□Robert Mattes□

□□□·□□□□·□□□□Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe□

□□□·□□□□Robert Mugabe□

□□□□Robben Island□

□□□newspapers□

□□□□□□□□□□□□memories of Mandela on□

□□□□□□□Mandela on□

□□□□□□influx of prisoners□

□□□□□release of prisoners□

□□□□□theatre□

□□□studies□

□□□alumni□

□□□debates□

□□□·□□□Roelf Meyer□

□□□□□□□□Lockerbie bombing negotiations□

□□·□□□□Laurent Kabila□

□□□·□□□□Lucas Mangope□

□□□□□□Lusaka conference□

□□□·“□□”·□□□Roelof ‘Pik’ Botha□

□□·□□□□□Ruth Matseoane□

M

M. Z. □□□□M. Z. Khumalo□

□□□□·□□□□□□□Marthinus van Schalkwyk□

□□·□□·□□Martin Luther King□

□□□□·□□□Magnus Malan□

□□□□Makhado□

□□□□Maqoma□

□□·□□□□□Mac Maharaj□

□□□□·□□□□□Makhenkesi Stofile□

□□□□□Mayibuye□

□□□□□□□□Mayishe II, King□

□□□·□□□□□—□□□□Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini□

□□·□□□□□□Mary Mxadana□

□□□·□□□□Michael Harmel□

□□□·□□□□Michael Jackson□

□□·□□□Meyer Kahn,□

□□□□□·□□□□□□Mandlenkosi Dumalisile□

□□□□·□□□□□Mangosuthu Buthelezi□

□□□□□□□Bantustan leader□

□□1994□□□□□participation in 1994 elections□

□□□□□□□□□storming South African Broadcasting Corporation studio□

□□□□□acting president□

□□□□□□□□□□□IFP presidency□

□□□□□□□□□ANC attitudes to□

□□□□□□□on cabinet decisions□

□□□□□□□call to resist government□

□□□□□□□□□□remaining in GNU□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□UWUSA formation□

□□□□□□minister of home affairs□

□□·□□□□□□□dismissal of Winnie Mandela□

□□□□□□□□Mandela's relationship with□

□□□□·□□□□□□Queen Mankopodi Thulare□

□□□□Mampuru□

□□□□□□□Queen Manthatisi□

□□□□□□□Daily News□

□□□□□□□Weekly Mail□

□□·□□□□Mendi Msimang□

□□□·□□·□□□Mobutu Sese Seko□

□□·G.□□□□Monty G. Naicker,□

□□□·□□□□Milovan Djilas□

□□□·□□□□Miriam Makeba□

□□□·□□□□Michael Corbett□

□□□□□□□□□□Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws□

□□□□□□□□Buthelezi's absence□

□□□□□□□Mandela's role□

□□□□Democratic Party, DP□

□□□□□□□□Shell House shootings□

□□□□□□□response to criticism□

□□□□□cabinet discussions□

□□□□□membership□

□□□veterans□

□□□□leadership□

□□□predecessor□

□□□□□□□Convention for a Democratic South Africa, CODESA□

□□□□□□□□De Klerk's appointment to□

□□□□□□first meeting□

□□□□□□□□Ramaphosa's career□

□□□□□constitution adopted□

□□□□□□□□Volkstaat Council□

□□□□□□□Government of National Unity, GNU□

□□□□□□□□Buthelezi role□

□□□□□□□□□□pairing of ministers and deputy ministers□

□□□formation□

□□□□□□□□RDP issues□

□□□□□□□opposition participation□

□□□□□□□position of ANC□

□□□□□rift in□

□□□cabinet□

□□□□□□cabinet committees□

□□□□□□□National Party role□

□□□□□□National Party withdrawal□

□□□□□□□civil service management□

□□□□·□□□□□□□response to Winnie Mandela's criticisms□

□□□□□□amnesty issues□

□□□collapse of□

□□□□□□□□reconciliation efforts□

□□·□□□□□□□dismissal of Winnie Mandela□

□□·□□□□□□□Winnie Mandela's criticisms against□

□□□□□□□□framework for a five-year GNU□

□□□□□consensus decisions□

□□□□□□conditions for elections□

□□□□□□□□□□IFP position□

□□□□—□□□□□□□□□KwaZulu-Natal tensions□

□□□□□□□□□□□□TRC set up□

□□□□□□□□□Communication and Information System, GCIS□

□□□□□Umkhonto weSizwe, MK□

□□□mutiny□

□□□□□□imprisonment of members□

□□□□□□□□□□□security detail for Mandela□

□□□□□□allegations about□

□□□□□□Hani's role□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□□Lusaka conference□

□□□□□□□Luthuli Detachment□

□□□establishment□

□□□□□□□Mandela's role□

□□□□□□□□Mandela's tribute to□

□□□□casualty rate□

□□□□□Wankie campaign□

□□□□□□□Sipolilo campaign□

□□□□□□□□□meetings with SADF□

□□□□□□□□□incorporated into SANDF□

□□·□□□□Moses Kotane□

□□□□□Mozambique□

□□·□□□□□Moss Nxumalo□

□□□·“□□□”·□□□□Mosiuoa ‘Terror’ Lekota□

□□□□□□King Mphephu□

□□□□Mzala□

□□□□□·□□□Mzwandile Vena□

□□□□·□□□□Muammar Gaddafi□

N

□□□·□□□□□Nelson Ramodike□

□□□·□□□□Mandela, Nelson□

□□□PERSON□

□□□□□□□appearance on release□

□□□□□□□view of human nature□

□□□□□legal career□

□□□□□response to violence□

□□□□memory□

□□□□□□□exercise during imprisonment□

□□□education□

□□□□□□□□soldier's code of conduct□

□□□generous□

□□□□□isiXhosa mother tongue□

□□□accent□

□□□□□charisma□

□□□charm□

□□□names□

□□□age□

□□□□□amiable□

□□□boxing□

□□□height□

□□□□sense of timing□

□□□□□□□□□trying to understand the other side□

□□□easy-going□

□□□warmth□

□□□smile□

□□□confidence□

□□□clothes□

□□□□courteous□

□□□□□□□□□ability to connect with people□

□□□□·□□□□□□marriage to Graça Machel□

□□□□□□divorce from Winnie□

□□□language□

□□□reading□

□□□□□reading newspapers□

□□□loyalty□

□□□discipline□

□□□□□self-control□

□□□dignity□

□□□IMPRISONMENT□

□□□□□□□□Pollsmoor Prison□

□□□release□

□□□□□□release strategy□

□□□activities□

□□□□□□□□□Victor Verster Prison□

□□□□□□□□□□□preparations for role after release□

□□□□Robben Island□

□□□start of□

□□□□□□□□meeting with De Klerk□

□□□□□□□□meetings with government representatives□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□telephone conversations with ANC and UDF□

□□□□□□□□meetings with government representatives□

□□□□POLITICAL VIEWS□

□□□□□□□□volkstaat□

□□□□AIDS□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□defence forces, SADF, SANDF□

□□□□□security services□

□□□□□□□Bantustan system□

□□□violence□

□□□□□□□□□futures of released prisoners□

□□□□□traditional leaders□

□□□□□free press□

□□□□□□majority rule□

□□□□□□children's rights□

□□□□□public services□

□□□national anthem□

□□□□National Party□

□□□□nationalization□

□□□reconciliation□

□□□□□collective leadership□

□□□education□

□□□economy□

□□□leadership□

□□□□□national unity□

□□□women□

□□provinces□

□□□unemployment□

□□□□privatization□

□□□corruption□

□□□□□land reform□

□□□□□negotiations□

□□□□□free discussion□

□□□□□health care□

□□□□□□Parliament location□

□□□□□□□relationship with the judiciary□

□□□languages□

□□□war□

□□□housing□

□□□□□POLITICAL CAREER□

□□□□□□□□□□□chosen as president by electoral college□

□□□□□□□□reluctance to become president□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□pairing ministers and deputy ministers from different parties□

□□□□□□□ANC deputy presidency□

□□□□□□ANC presidency□

□□□advisers□

□□□□□□□□rumours of sell-out□

□□□□□□□□endorsement by interna-tional community□

□□□□□□□□□□response to Shell House shootings□

□□□□□□□response to right-wing threat□

□□□□□succession question□

□□□□□□□refusal to seek re-election□

□□□□□leadership style□

□□□□□□□□presidency of South Africa□

□□□□□□□negotiations for release of prisoners□

□□□□□voting in elections□

□□□□□□□□negotiations with Pretoria regime□

□□□□□□□□□relationship with De Klerk□

□□□□□□□relationship with the public□

□□□□□□□relationship with the media□

□□□□□□□relationship with the judiciary□

□□□□□strategic thinking□

□□□□□□□□□□□□talks between government and ANC□

□□□□□□presidential office□

□□□□□□□□□□presidential staff□

□□□□□□salary as president□

□□□□□presidential home□

□□□□□□□presidential inauguration□

□□□cabinet formation□

□□□SPEECHES□

BBC□□□1993□□BBC interview, 1993□

□□□□□□2002□□AIDS conference, 2002□

□□□□□□□□1998□□Angolan National Assembly, 1998□

□□□□□1999□□Beijing University, 1999□

□□□□□1964□□from the dock, 1964□

□□□□□1995□□□□□Pretoria rally, 1995□

□□□□□1999□□briefing editors, 1999□

□□□□□□□□□□1998□□Non-Aligned Movement summit, 1998□

□□□□□□□□□1994□□Senate budget debate, 1994□

□□□□□□□□□1995□□Senate budget debate, 1995□

□□□□□□□□□1996□□Senate budget debate, 1996□

□□□□□□□□□□Cape Town speech after release from prison□

□□□□□□1992□□Davos address, 1992□

□□□□□Morals Summit, 1998□

□□□□□□1990□2□25□□Durban rally, 25 Feb 1990□

□□□□□□□□1994□5□□first address to Parliament, May 1994□

□□□□□1996□□TV interview, 1996□

□□□□□1997□□TV interview, 1997□

□□□□□□1997□□ANC conference, 1997□

□□□□□□□□□□□□1997□□farewell speech at ANC Conference, 1997□

□□□□□□□□□□□1996□□ANC NEC, 1996□

□□□□□□□□□1994□□OAU summit, 1994□

□□□□□□□1994□□International Press Institute, 1994□

□□□□□□□□□statement in National Assembly, 1996□

□□□□□1994□□State of the Nation Address, 1994□

□□□□□1995□□State of the Nation Address, 1995□

□□□□□1996□□State of the Nation Address, 1996□

□□□□□1997□□State of the Nation Address, 1997□

□□□□□1999□□State of the Nation Address, 1999□

□□□□□□□□□□□□TV appearance after Hani killing□

□□1995□□□□□□□□reply to debate on State of the Nation Address, 1995□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1997□□reply to NCOP debate on President's Budget, 1997□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1998□□reply to NCOP debate on President's Budget, 1998□

□□□□□speaking extempore□

□□□□□□before inauguration□

□□□□□□□□Corbett's retirement banquet□

□□□veterans□

□□□□□□1964□□Rivonia Trial, 1964□

□□□□□□1997□□media in Libya, 1997□

□□□□□1992□□Libya media, 1992□

□□□□□□□□□1999□□Libyan Congress of the People, 1999□

□□□□1993□□UN, 1993□

□□□□□1994□□UN General Assembly, 1994□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2000□□opening of Mandela Rhodes Foundation's offices, 2000□

□□□□□□US House of Congress□

□□□□□□□□□□□□1997□□SADC summit, 1997□

□□□□□□□□□1998□□Mercosur summit, 1998□

□□□□□□□□□□1994□□COSATU congress, 1994□

□□□□□□□□□□interview with the

South African Broadcasting Corpora-tion□

□□□□□1999□□Swedish Parliament, 1999□

□□□election victory□

□□□□□adoption of Constitution□

□□□□□□□□1994□□anniversary of Soweto Uprising, 1994□

□□□□□□□□□on Shell House shoot-ings□

□□□□□□on Buthelezi□

□□□□□□□□on IFP□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□challenging IFP to return to Parliament□

□□□□□delegation of drafting□

□□□□□□□1995□□Umlazi rally, 1995□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Parliament after Umlazi speech□

□□□□□□□□□□inauguration of Constitutional Court□

□□□□□□□□□□□top police command□

□□□□□□□□□□1997□□opening new intelligence headquarters, 1997□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Cape Town speech after election as president□

□□□1999□□election campaign, 1999□

□□□□□□prefaces to speeches□

□□□□□1996□□Parliament, 1995□

□□□□□□□□□1999□□farewell speech to Parliament, 1999□

□□□□□□□□□Parliament on Public Service, 1996□

□□□□□□□drafted by Gerwel□

□□□□□□□□drafted by Netshitenzhe□

□□□□□□drafted by Trew□

□□□□□□□□□□□□meeting with Afrikaner organisations□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□1999□□farewell interview with SABC, 1999□

□□□□□□□□□□□1998□□briefing to Parliament at opening of budget debate, 1998□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□multifaith service in Soweto□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Wallmansthal address to former MK members□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□statement on NP withdrawal from GNU□

□□□□□□□□□□□statements on Winnie's position□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□opening address to third session of Parliament, 1996□

□□□□□□□□□□statement on Chinese relations, 1996□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□opening address in debate on TRC Report□

□□□□□□presidential inauguration speech□

□□□□□□□□1999□□final sitting of Parliament, 1999□

□□□□□□□□CELEBRATIONS, HONOURS AND TRIBUTES□

70□□□□seventieth birthday□

78□□□□seventy-eighth birthday□

80□□□□eightieth birthday□

□□□□□□Africa Peace Award□

□□□□□□□□Wembley concerts□

□□□□□□presidential inaugura-tion□

□□□WRITING□

□□□□□□□□□□□□preamble to White Paper on Reconstruction and Development□

□□1997□□□□□□□□□□notes on Kabila meeting, 1997□

□□□□□□□notes for meetings□

□□□□□□□letter to De Klerk□

□□□□□□□□Long Walk to Freedom□

□□□□□□□□□□□□‘Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy’□

□□□□□□on security structures□

□□□□on newspapers□

□□□□□□on becoming president□

□□□□□□□□□on role of traditional leaders□

□□□□□□□□□□□on debt of gratitude to Angola□

□□□□□□on De Klerk□

□□□□on rule of law□

□□□□□on crime rate□

□□□□□□□□□on ANC's lack of experience□

□□□□□□□on ANC election campaign□

□□□□□□□□□on ANC policy document□

□□□□□□□□□on ANC government record□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□on ANC's role as governing party□

□□□□□on Gerwel□

□□□□□on citizenship rights□

□□□□□on National Party□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□on National Party withdrawal from GNU□

□□□□□□□□□□on Speaker of National Assembly□

□□□□□□□on killing of Hani□

□□□□□□on black journalists□

□□□□on economy□

□□□□—□□□□□□on KwaZulu-Natal violence□

□□□□on leadership□

□□□□□□□on Malan arrest□

□□□□□□on media relations□

□□□□□□□on media ownership□

□□□□□□□□□on MK fighters□

□□□□□□on cabinet selection□

□□□□□□on Netshitenzhe□

□□□□□□on appointment of women□

□□□□□□□□□□□on Tambo's death and successor□

□□□□□□□on land and housing□

□□□□□□□on former freedom fighters□

□□□□on elections□

□□□□□□□□□□on security dis-cussions before elections□

□□□□□□on Parliament location□

□□□□□□□□□□on right-wing threat to elections□

□□□□□□□□□□on meetings with traditional leaders□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□on TRC report□

□□□□□□□□□□□□on Organ□

□□□□□□□□on apartheid regime□

□□□□□□□□on role in prison□

□□□□□□□‘The Presidential Years’□

□□□·□□□□□□□□Nelson Mandela Children's Fund□

□□·□□□□Nana Mahomo□

□□□□□□□Nasrec conference□

□□□□□□□□□□Southern African Development Community, SADC□

1996□□□□□summit, 1996□

1997□□□□□summit, 1997□

□□□formation□

□□□□□□□Zone of Peace and Coope-ration□

□□□□□□□□Lesotho intervention□

□□□□□□□Mandela's position□

□□□□□□South Africa's role□

□□□□□policy framework□

□□□□□□□□□□□Organ□

□□□□□□□□□□□Zone of Peace and Cooperation in the South Atlantic□

□□□□□□□Común del Sur Mercosur, Mercado□

□□□□□□□South African Reserve Bank□

□□□□□□□□□Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, CONTRALESA□

□□□□□□South African Defence Force, SADF□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□generals form AVF□

□□□□□□□□merge into SANDF□

□□□□□□□re-education of members□

□□□□□□□□□□□massacre of Namibian refugees□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□□□Mandela's address□

□□□□□□□Botha's relationship with□

□□□□□□□□meetings with MK□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□briefing on TRC□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□support for UNITA□

□□□□□□□□South African Rugby Football Union, SARFU□

□□□□□□□Congress of South African Trade Unions, COSATU□

1994□□□□□conference, 1994□

□□□□□□□□□□□opposition to□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□cabinet briefing□

□□□□□Tripartite Alliance□

□□□□□□□□Inkatha relations□

□□□policies□

□□□□□□□□□□United Workers Union of South Africa, UWUSA□

□□□□□□Communist Party South Africa, CPSA/ South African Communist Party, SACP□

□□□□□activists□

□□□unbanned□

□□□veterans□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□cabinet briefing□

□□□□□Tripartite Alliance□

□□□□□□□□□□□□White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa□

□□□□□□□□□□Constitution of the Republic of South Africa□

1996□□□□□adoption, 1996□

□□□□□□□public signing ceremony□

□□□□□interim□

□□□□□‘sunset clauses’□

□□□drafting□

□□□□□□□South African Broadcasting Corporation□

□□□□□□South African National Defence Force, SANDF□

□□□formation□

□□□□□□□□□□briefing on arrest of Malan□

□□□□□□□□military intervention in Lesotho□

□□□□□□□□MK difficulties□

□□□□□report fabricated□

□□□□□□replacement of Chief□

□□□languages□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Strategic Defence Procurement Package□

□□□□□□Command Council□

□□□□□□□integration and rationalization□

□□□□□□□□South African Council of Churches, SACC□

□□□□□□South African Police, South African Police Service, SAP, SAPS□

□□□□renamed□

□□□reconstruction□

□□□□□□Independent Complaints Directorate, ICD□

□□□□□□□□□□□□security detail for Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□Vlakplaas Unit□

□□□□□□□□□□□National Crime Information Management Centre□

□□□□□□□□□□National Commiss-ioner appointments□

□□□□□□□□□National Crime Prevention Strategy, NCPS□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□□□Mandela's addresses□

□□□□□□□Mandela's praise for□

□□□□□amnesty applications□

□□□□□Code of Conduct□

□□□budget□

□□□□□□support for Inkatha□

□□□□□Detective component□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□briefing on TRC□

□□□□□□□South African United Front, SAUF□

□□□□□□□□□South African National Editors’ Forum, SANEF□

□□□□□□□South African Times□

□□□□□□South African Revenue Service□

□□□□□□Springboks□

□□□□□□South African Secret Service, SASS□

□□□□□□□□□□South African Native National Congress, SANNC□

□□□□□□□□South African Indian Congress, SAIC□

□□·□□□□Niël Barnard□

□□□□·“□□”·□□□□Nicholas ‘Fink’ Haysom□

□□□□□Nigeria□

□□□□□Rural Safety□

□□□□□□□Nobel Peace Prize□

□□□□Luthuli□

P

P. W. □□/□□·□□·□□□P. W. Botha, Pieter Willem□

□□□□□□□□□arranging secret talks with Mandela□

□□□□□□□□briefing on Malan arrest□

□□□□□□ANC talks□

□□□health□

□□□□□□□generals’ plot□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□refusal to appear before TRC□

□□□□□□□□negotiations for release of prisoners□

□□□□□□□meetings with Mandela□

□□□□□□□reviled by ANC□

□□□□□Total Strategy doctrine□

□□□□·□□□□Padraig O'Malley□

□□□·□□□□□□Parks Mankahlana□

□□·□□□Pallo Jordan□

□□□·□□□□Paseka Ncholo□

□□□□□Treason Trial□

□□□defendants□

□□□□□□□Mandela accused□

□□□□□□□□□acquittal of all accused□

□□□□·□□□□Peregrine Worsthorne□

□□□·□□□□Penuell Maduna□

□□□□·□·□□□·□□□Pixley ka Isaka Seme□

□□□·□□□□Pierre Steyn□

□□·□□□□Percy Yutar□

□□□□·□□□Princeton Lyman□

Q

□□□·□□□□□□Tjaart van der Walt□

□□□□□Frontline States□

□·□□□□Joe Slovo□

□·□□□□Joe Nhlanhla□

□·□□□□Joe Modise□

□□·□□□□Job Mokgoro□

□□·□□□□□Joel Netshitenzhe□

□□·□□□□Jomo Kenyatta□

□□□·□□□□□Jonathan Hyslop□

□□□·□□□□Josiah Tshangana□

□□·□□□□Bizos, George□

□□·□□□□George Fivaz□

□□□□□□□□Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence□

□□□□□□□National Editors Forum□

□□□□□□□□□□National House of Traditional Leaders□

□□□□□□□□National Reception Committee□

□□□□□□□□□National Religious Leaders Forum□

R

R. W. □□□□R. W. Johnson□

□□□□□□□□□□□Operation Masak-hane□

□□□□□□□Congress of the People□

□□□□□□□□Buthelezi's absence□

□□□veterans□

□□□□□□□Freedom Charter□

□□□□□□□Bill of Rights□

□□□□□People's Forums□

□□□·□□□□Joaquim Chissano□

□□□·□□□□Jonas Savimbi□

S

□□□·□□□□□□Sabata Dalindyebo□

□□·□□□□□Saki Macozoma□

□□□·□□□□Saleem Mowzer□

□□□·□□□□Samora Machel□

□□·□□□□Sani Abacha□

□□·□□□Saths Cooper□

□□·□□□Sékou Touré□

□□□□□□□□King Sekwati III□

□□□□□□□□King Sekwati I□

□□□□□Sekhukhune□

□□□·□□□Selope Thema□

□□□□□Cetshwayo□

□□□□□Tripartite Alliance□

□□□□□□□□Sharpeville Massacre□

□□□commemoration□

□□□history□

□□□□□Mandela on□

□□□□□□□□□poem written after□

□□□effects□

□□□□□□Business Against Crime, BAC□

□□□□□□□□□□Provincial Houses of Traditional Leaders□

□□□□□Mahatma Gandhi□

□□□·□□□□Stephen Laufer□

□□□·□□·□□□Biko, Stephen Bantu□

□□□·□□□□Steve Vukile Tshwete□

□□□□□□/□□□□□□□World Economic Forum, WEF□

□□□□□□□World Trade Organisation□

□□□□□World Bank□

□□□□□□□□World Council of Churches□

□□□□□□□□□Municipal Structures Act, 1998□

□□□□□□□□Judicial Service Commission, JSC□

□□□·□□□□Stella Sigcau□

□□·□□□□□Stan Greenberg□

□□·□□□□□Susan Ndhlovu□

□□□□□□Sophocles□

□□□·□□□·□□□□Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje□

□□□□□□Soweto Uprising□

□□□□□□□□The Sowetan□

T

□□·□□□□Thabo Mbeki□

□□□□□□□□Shell House shootings□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□RDP Office closure□

□□□□□□ANC president□

□□□□deputy president□

□□□□□□□deputy president question□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□IMF restructuring issues□

□□□□□succession question□

□□□□□□□□committee on economic affairs□

□□□□□□inauguration as president□

□□□□□□□Cape Town visit□

□□□□□□□□□Mandela's inaugu-ration speech□

□□□□□□SASS□

□□□□□□□□on National Party withdrawal□

□□□□on reconciliation□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□on Mandela's interest in security matters□

□□□□□□on constitution drafting□

□□□□on police issues□

□□□□□constitution issues□

□□□□□□□helping with speech writing□

□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□□talks with right-wing generals□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Strategic Defence Procurement Package□

□□□□□cabinet formation discussions□

□□□□·□□□□□□King Thandizulu Sigcau□

□□·□□□□Thami Mazwai□

□□□·□□□□□□□□□Archbishop Trevor Huddleston□

□□□·□□□□Trevor Manuel□

□□□□□□□□□appointment as finance minister□

□□□□□□□Gerwel's appointment□

□□□□□□□□□Economic Planning role□

□□□□□□□instructions from Mandela□

□□□□□□□□National Reception Committee□

□□□□□□□□□□on finance minister appointment□

□□□□□on Mandela□

□□□□□□on cabinet meetings□

□□□□□□□Parliament site issue□

□□□□□□□□The Trojan Horse Massacre□

□□·□□·□□□Themba Harry Gwala□

□□□·□□□□Thenjiwe Mtintso□

□□□□1913□□Land Act, 1913□

□□□·□□□·□□□□Thomas Titus Nkobi□

□□·□□□□□□Tony Hollingsworth□

□□·□□□Tony Leon□

□□·□□□Tony Trew,□

□□·□□□□□□Toine Eggenhuizen□

W

□□□□·□□□□Václav Havel□

□□·□□□Valli Moosa□

□□□□□Wankie Campaign□

□□□□·□□□□Wilmot James□

□□□·□□□□Wilson Ngqose□

□□□·□□□□Wilton Mkwayi□

□□·□□□□□□William de Villiers□

□□□□□□□□□Victor Verster Prison□

□□□□□□Mandela's release□

□□□□□□□Mandela at□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Conference for a Democratic Future□

□□·□□□□Winnie Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□□□identification with populist tendencies□

□□□dismissal□

□□□□□□□□□□□criticisms of GNU□

□□□□□□□apology to GNU□

□□□□□□letters to□

□□□imprisonment□

□□□□□□challenge to dismissal□

□□□□□charges against□

□□□□□□□□□□trial for assault and kidnapping□

□□□humiliation□

□□□□□□separation from Mandela□

□□□□□□divorce from Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□□life after Mandela's release□

□□□□supporters□

□□□·□□□□Vincent Maphai□

□□□·□□□□Wolfie Kodesh□

□□□·□□□□Walter Sisulu)

□□□release from prison□

□□□□□□□□view of Bantustans□

□□□□□succession question□

□□□imprisonment□

□□□□□□Lusaka conference□

□□□□□□□□□□Mandela's view of□

□□□age□

□□□□□□approval of cabinet positions□

□□□□□on Mandela□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Confer-ence for a Democratic Future□

□□□□influence□

□□□□□□□□relationship with Mandela□

□□□□□·□□·□□□□□Vulindlela Tutor Ndamase□

□□□□□·□□□□Urbania Mothopeng□

X

□□□·□□□Sifiso Zulu□

□□□·□□□□□Sifiso Nkabinde□

□□□·□□□□Siphiwe Nyanda□

□□□□□Siqungati□

□□□·□□□□Silumko Sokupa□

□□□·□□□□□Cyril Ramaphosa□

□□□□□□□ANC secretary general□

□□□□□□□deputy presidency question□

□□□□□□succession question□

□□□career□

□□□□□□□□National Reception Committee□

□□□appearance□

□□□□□Constitutional Assembly□

□□□□□□□□□South West African National Union, SWANU□

□□□□□□□□□South West Africa People's Organisation, SWAPO□

□□□□·□□□□·□·□□□□Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon□

□□□□·□□□□□Sizakele Sigxashe□

□□·□□□Cissie Gool□

□□·□□□□□Sydney Mufamadi□

□□□□□□□□minister of safety and security□

□□□background□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□memories of RDP office□

□□□□—□□□□□□□□memories of ANC-Inkatha relations□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□memories of discussions between generals and Mandela□

□□□□□□□memories of Mandela□

□□□□□cabinet consultations□

□□□□□□□□□□minister of

provincial affairs and local govern-ment□

□□□□□□□□□peace process role□

□□□□□Zion Christian Church, ZCC□

□□□□□□Sipolilo campaign□

□□□·□□—□□□□Charlayne Hunter-Gault□

□□□□□Constitutional Court□

□□□□□□□□Chapter Nine Institutions□

□□□□□□□Passive Resistance Campaign□

□□□□·□□□□□Singqokwana Malgas□

□□□□□King Hintsa□

□□□□□The Star□

□□□□□□□□□Sunday Independent□

□□□□□□□□□□Sunday Times□

□·□□□□□Hugh Masekela□

□□□□□Sadako Ogata□

Y

□□□□·□□□□·□□□□□Jabulani Nobleman Nxumalo□

□□□·□□□·□□□□□Jafta Kgalabi Masemola,□

□□□·□□□Alec Erwin□

□□·□□□□□□Arthur Chaskalson□

□□□·□□□□□Yasser Arafat□

□□□·□□□□□□□·□□□Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma□

□□□□□□□ANC deputy president□

□□□□□succession question□

□□□□□□□Robben Island alumnus□

□□□□□□□□□Mandela's view of□

□□□□□□□□□cabinet selection approval□

□□□□□□□□□talks with right-wing generals□

□□□□□□□□work with traditional leaders□

□□·□□□□Jacques Chirac□

□□□·□□□□Janusz Waluś□

□□□□·□□□□□□Elias Motsoaledi□

□□□·□□□□□Irene Buthelezi□

□□□□·□□□□□Ismail Mohamed□

□□□□·□□□Indres Naidoo□

□□□□□□□iNdlovukazi□

□□□□□□□Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP□

□□□□□□□□support from security forces□

□□□violence□

□□□□□□□□Shell House shootings□

□□□□□military training□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□□□Mandela's threat towards□

□□□□□□□Mandela's speech□

□□□□□cabinet positions□

□□□origins□

□□□□□□□□ruling troika suggestion□

□□□□□constitution issues□

□□□election campaign□

□□□□□□□□relationship with ANC□

□□□□□□□□relationship with National Party□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□CONTRA-LESA relations□

□□□□□□□□□□□□role in GNU□

□□□□□Parliament building□

□□□·□□□Ingrid Jonker□

□□□□influence□

□□□□□□Beeld□

□□□·□□□Yusuf Dadoo□

□□·□□□□Eugene de Kock□

□□·□□□□□□Eugene Terre'Blanche□

□□□□□□□□□□AWB□

□□□□□□□□□□volkstaat issue□

□□□violence□

□□□□□□□□view of Mandela□

□□□□□□□Mail & Guardian□

□□□·□□□□Jürgen Kögl,□

□□·S. □□□□John S. Mbiti□

□□·□□□□□□□John Pretorius□

□□·□□□□□John Nkadimeng□

□□·□□□□□Johan van der Merwe□

5, 149, 179, 181–2, 226

□□·□□□□Johan Heyns□

□□·□□□John Carlin□

□□·□□□□□Johann Kriegler□

□□·□□□□□·□□□John Langalibalele Dube□

□□·□□□□Johan Swart□

□□□□·□□□□Johannes Rantete□

□□□·□□□□Johnson Mlambo□

□□□·□□□□Joseph Chiole□

Z

□□·□□□□Zach de Beer□

□□□□Xhamela□

□□□□·□□□□□□King Zanesizwe Sandile□

□□□·□□□□Zanele Mbeki□

□□□·□□□□James Baldwin□

□□□·□□□□□James Phillips□

□□□·□□□□□James Gregory□

□□□·□□□□□James Motlatsi□

□□□·□□·□□□□James Sebe Moroka□

□□□□□□□□□Truth and Reconciliation Commission, TRC□

□□□report□

□□□□□□participation issues□

□□□status□

□□□□□□□□responses to□

□□□□□radio coverage□

□□□□□□□Mandela's support□

□□□objectives□

□□□established□

□□□□□amnesty applications□

□□□□□□□terms of reference□

□□□□hearings□

□□□□□□Tutu's role□

□□□□□□□□□□□Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, Organ□

□□□□□□□□□□□Suppression of Commu-nism Act□

□□□□□Constitutional Assembly□

□□□□□□□□Institute of Race Relations□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa□

□□□·□□□□Jules Browde□

□□□□·□□□□Julius Nyerere□

□□□□·□□□□Zephania Mothopeng,□

□□□□Liberal Party□

□□□□□□□□□□Growth, Employment and Redistribution, GEAR□

□□□□□□□Radio Freedom□

□□□□□□□Freedom Charter□

□□□□·□·□□□□□□La Guma's work□

□□□□□□□vision of South Africa□

□□□□□□□□□policy document of ANC□

□□□□□□□□□□□copies distributed to Afrikaners□

□□□adoption□

□□□□□□ideas in□

□□□□□Freedom Front□

□□□□□□□□□□□□Freedom Front Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination□

□□□□□□□□discussions on govern-ment participation□

□□□formation□

□□□□□□□□□□briefing on Malan arrest□

□□□□leadership□

□□□□□pursuit of objectives□

□□□elections□

□□□□□□criticisms of Parliament□

□□□□□□□Vrye Weekblad□

□□□□□□□□Presidential Review Commission, PRC□

□□□□□□□Presidential Trust Fund□

□□□□□□□Presidential Lead Projects□

□□·□□□□Zole Msenti□

□□·□□□□□Zola Skweyiya□

□□·□□□□Wicomb, Zoë□

Chapter One

The Challenge

An unprecedented challenge faced the first democratically elected government of the Republic of South Africa.

It was a major rubicon to cross for the generation of dynamic and steeled freedom fighters who, for almost half a century, had sacrificed everything for the liberation of their country.

Some of them had given up lucrative careers, spent almost a lifetime under harsh conditions in exile mobilising the international community to condemn apartheid and to isolate white South Africa.

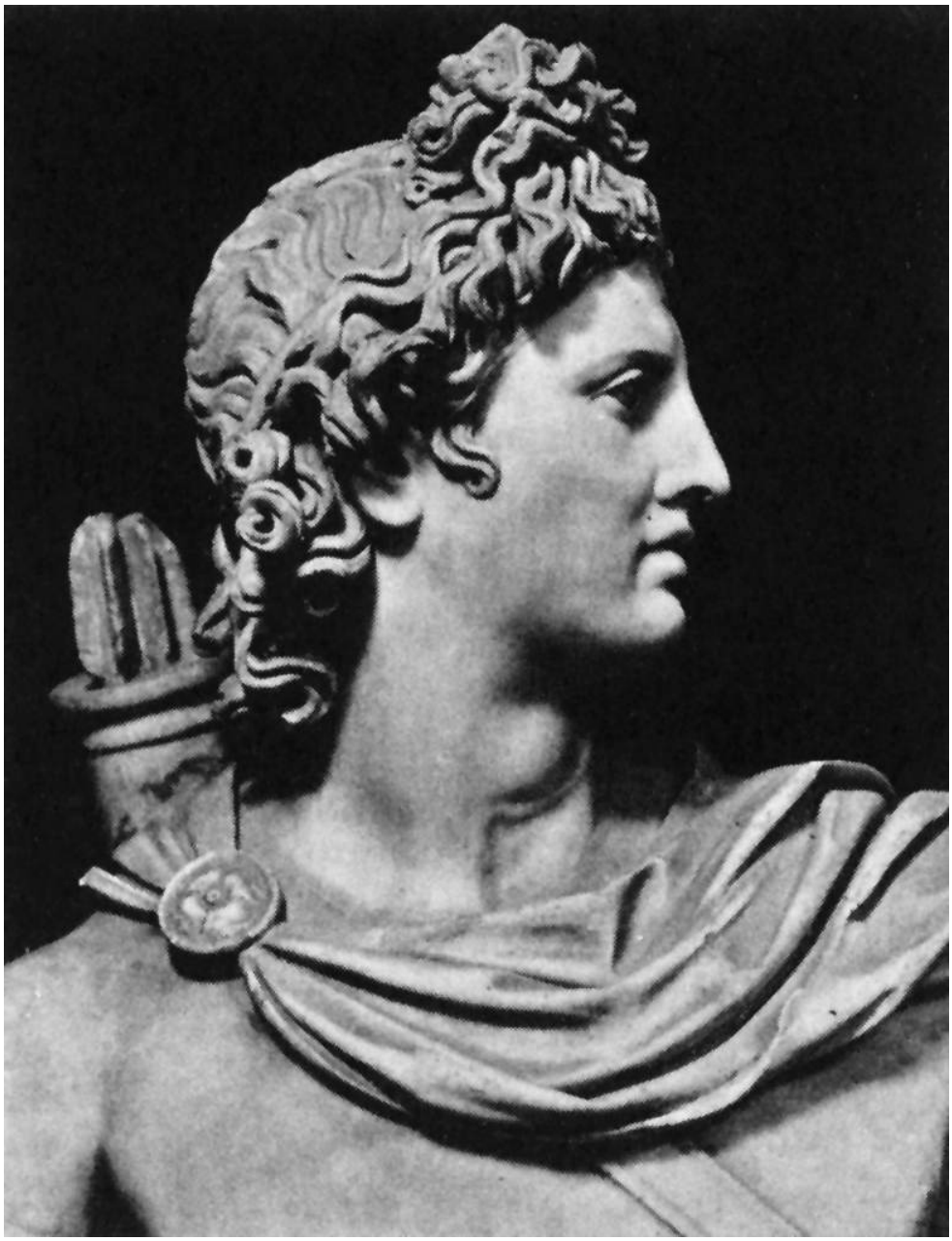
That white South Africa was in due course shunned by almost every country in the world, and apartheid condemned as a crime against humanity was a measure of the success of their historic campaign.

Those in exile criss-crossed the five continents briefing heads of state and government on our situation, attending world and regional gatherings, and flooding the world with material exposing the inhumanity of apartheid.

It was this worldwide campaign which made the African National Congress (ANC) and its leaders inside and outside the country, one of the most well-known liberation movement of the world.

The fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe (M.K) displayed unrivalled courage and infiltrated the country, attacked government installations, and clashed with the apartheid forces and, now

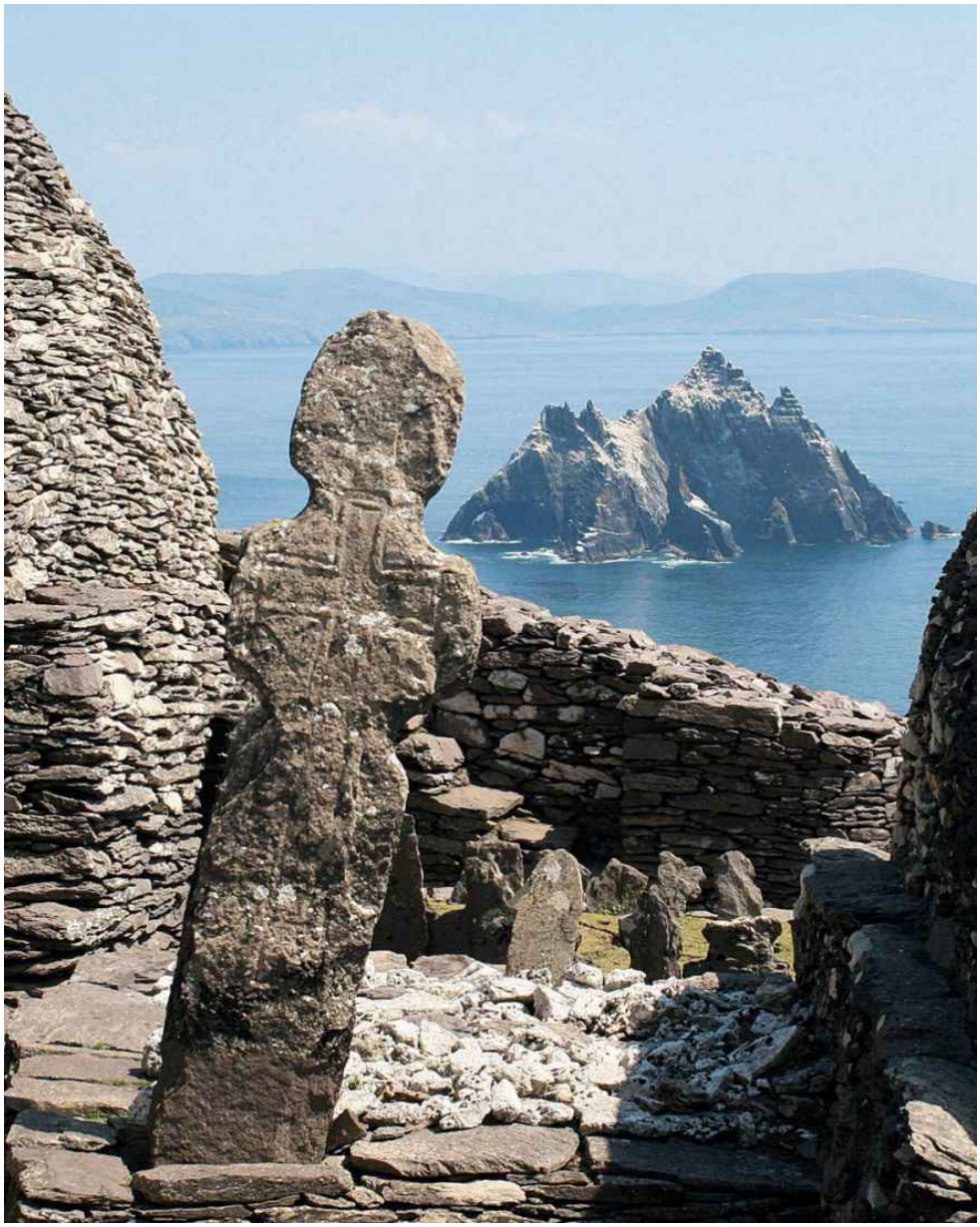
1.□□□



**2. 1990□2□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□——□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

**3. 1990□2□13□□□

**4. 1990□□□

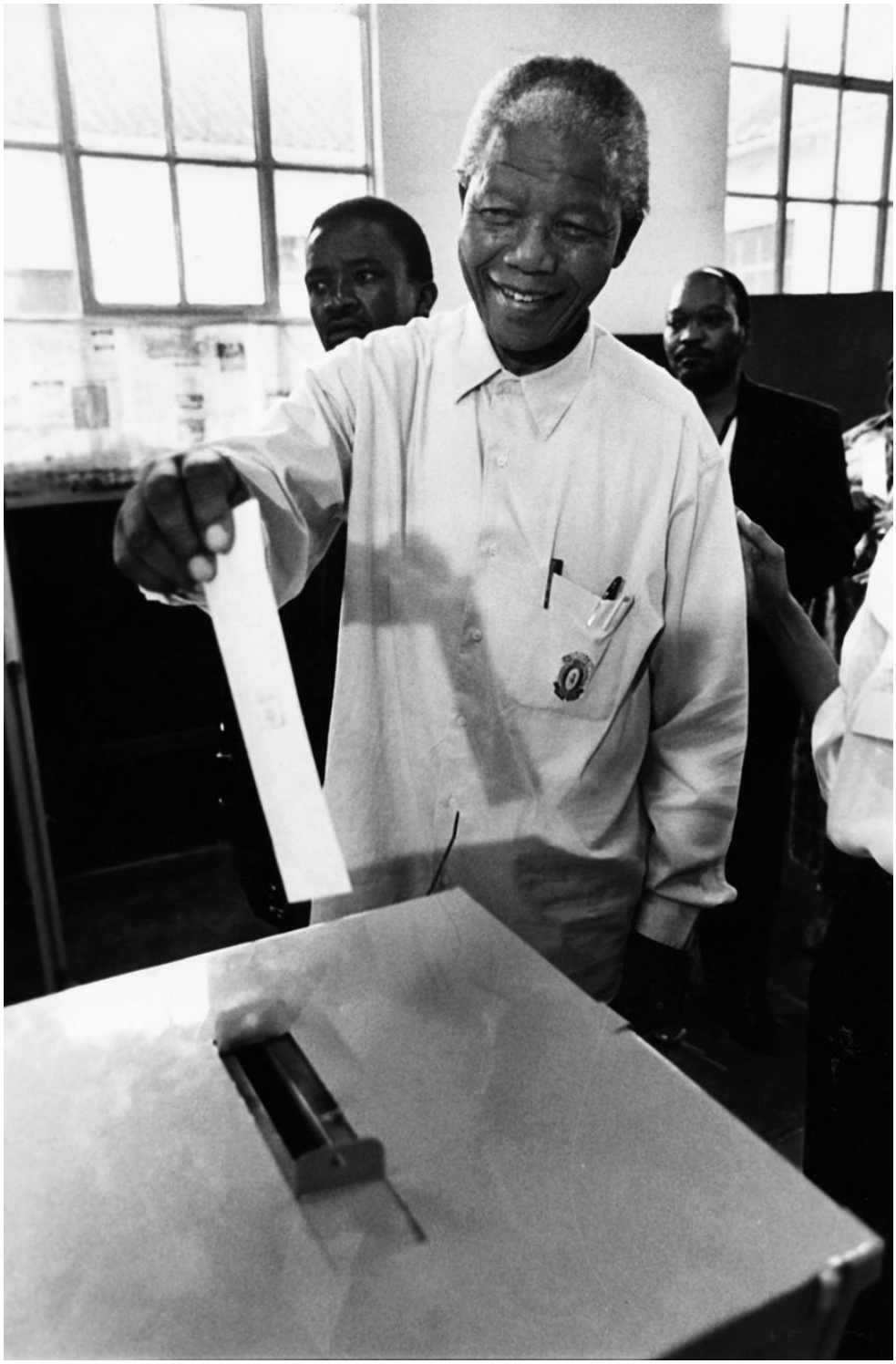


**5. 1991□1□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

**6. 1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

**8. 1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Galeshewe□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

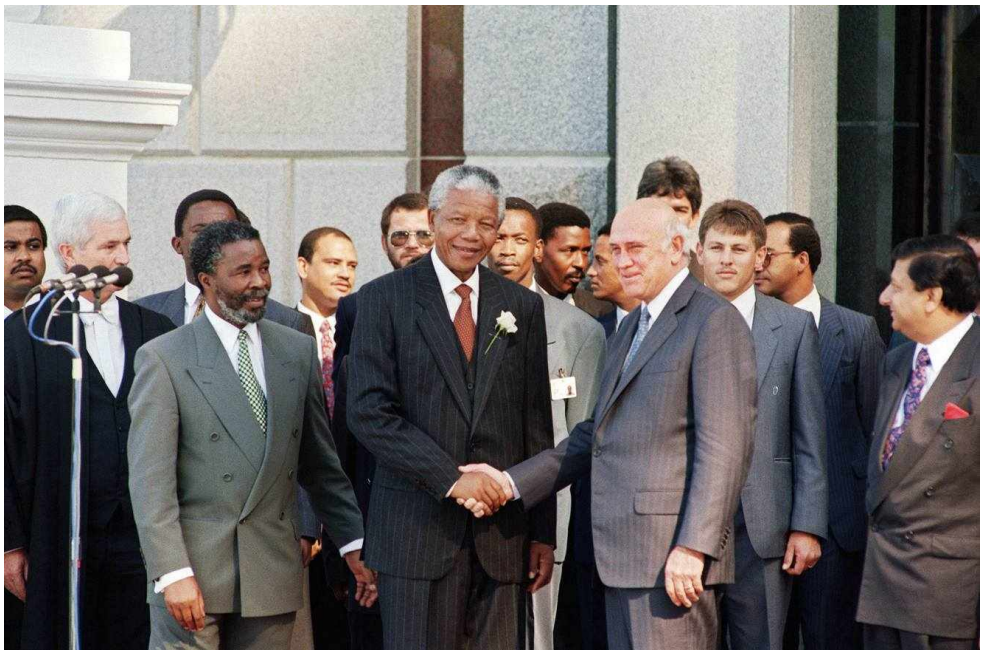
9. 1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□



**10. 1994□4□27□□□

MANDELA...
LIGHTS... CAMERA... ACTION!
LIGHTS... WATER... ACTION!
PRESIDENT
NANDA SOOBBEN 1994

**11.□□□



13. 1994□5□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

14.□□□·□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□·□□——□□□□□□□□□□□1997□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

15. [illegible]

11. E. P. Jordaan : ~~Minister of Environment &~~ Fisheries Post & Communication
12. S. Sigcau : Minister of Public Enterprises
13. S. W. Ishwete : Minister of Sport & Recreation
14. S. R. Maharaj : Minister of Transport
15 N. C. Dlamini Zuma : Minister of Health
16 A. B. Nzo : Minister of Foreign Affairs
17 D. M. Hanekom : Minister of Lands
18 S. F. Mufamadi : Minister of Safety & Security
19. T. T. Mboweni Minister of Labour

Professor Jakes Gerwel was Director-General in the Office of the President and Secretary of the Cabinet

Soon after the formation of the Government of National Unity, and long before Deputy-President De Klerk pulled out of that ~~great~~ Cabinet, the ANC was repeatedly accused of racism and of promoting only the interests of Africans and neglecting those of ~~other or~~ the minority ~~groups~~ Africans. There still people today who still peddle this fable. ~~Irrespective of ethnic group to which they~~ A glance at the above list ~~of members of the GNU~~ below ~~reveal~~ I have deliberately set out the names of the ~~full~~ cabinet of the GNU while and those who have respect for truth and themselves will refrain from tarnishing their image by endorsing a senseless propagandas and transparent ~~subterfuge~~ try those who have no credible alternative policy ~~to present to the people of to our country to the people of~~ South Africans

~~How can we be accused of racism~~

The subterfuge becomes all the more ~~transparent~~ glaring when you consider that apart from Mr Williams, a member of the Coloured Community, the remaining 5 cabinet members of Mr De Klerk's National Party were all whites and Afrikaners, no Indian, no African

~~As for as the ANC is concerned we had not less~~

Yet all these national groups were represented in the ANC cabinet

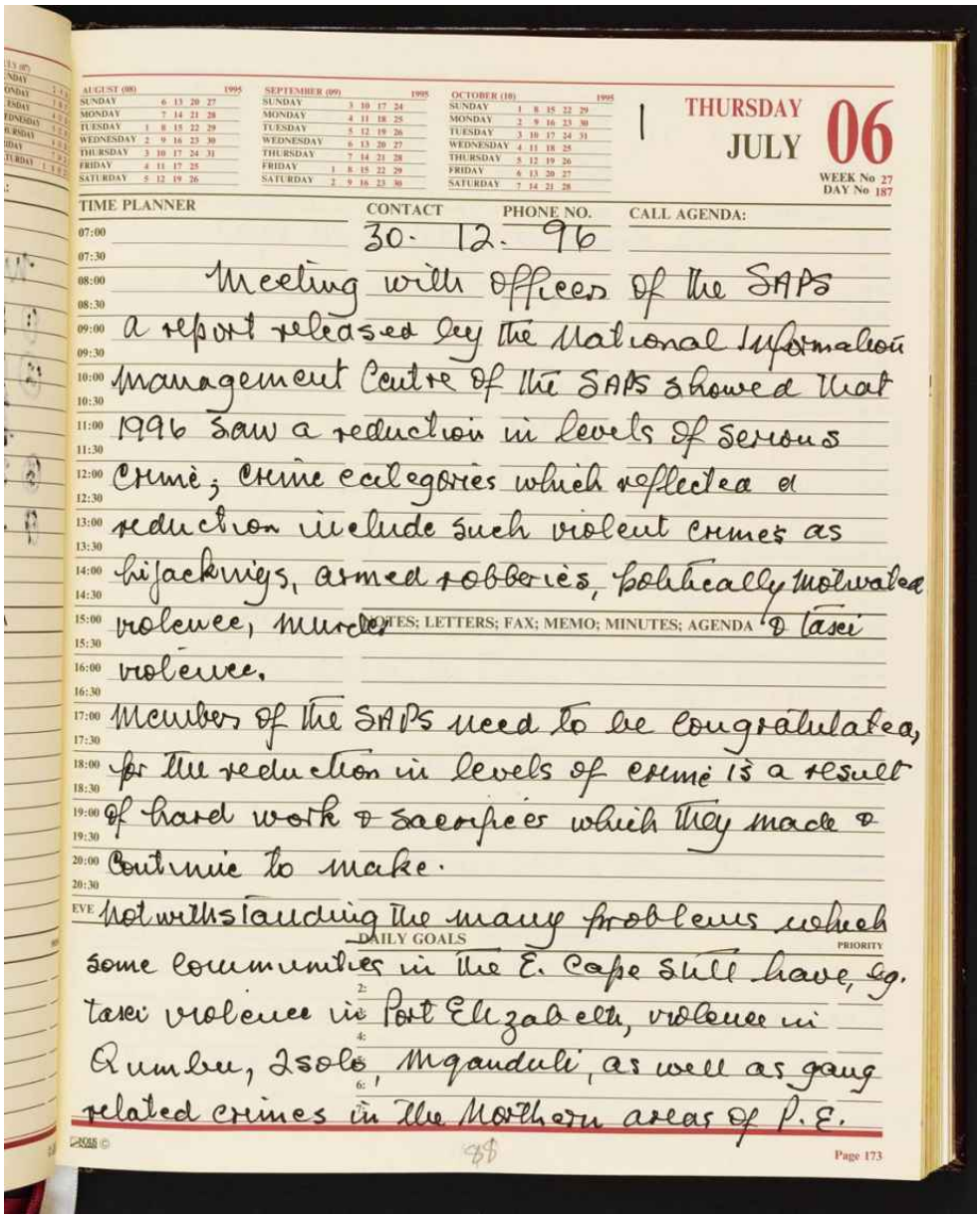
16. [illegible] "[illegible]"

17.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□

18.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□

**19.□□□□·□□□□

21.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□



THURSDAY JULY 06

WEEK No 27
DAY No 187

TIME PLANNER | CONTACT | PHONE NO. | CALL AGENDA:

30. 12. 96

Meeting with Officers of the SAPS

A report released by the National Information Management Centre of the SAPS showed that 1996 saw a reduction in levels of serious crime; crime categories which reflected a reduction include such violent crimes as hijackings, armed robberies, politically motivated violence, murder & taxi violence.

Members of the SAPS need to be congratulated, for the reduction in levels of crime is a result of hard work & sacrifices which they made & continue to make.

Notwithstanding the many problems which some communities in the E. Cape still have, eg. taxi violence in Port Elizabeth, violence in Qumbu, Zsolo, Mganduli, as well as gang related crimes in the Northern areas of P.E.

NOTES; LETTERS; FAX; MEMO; MINUTES; AGENDA

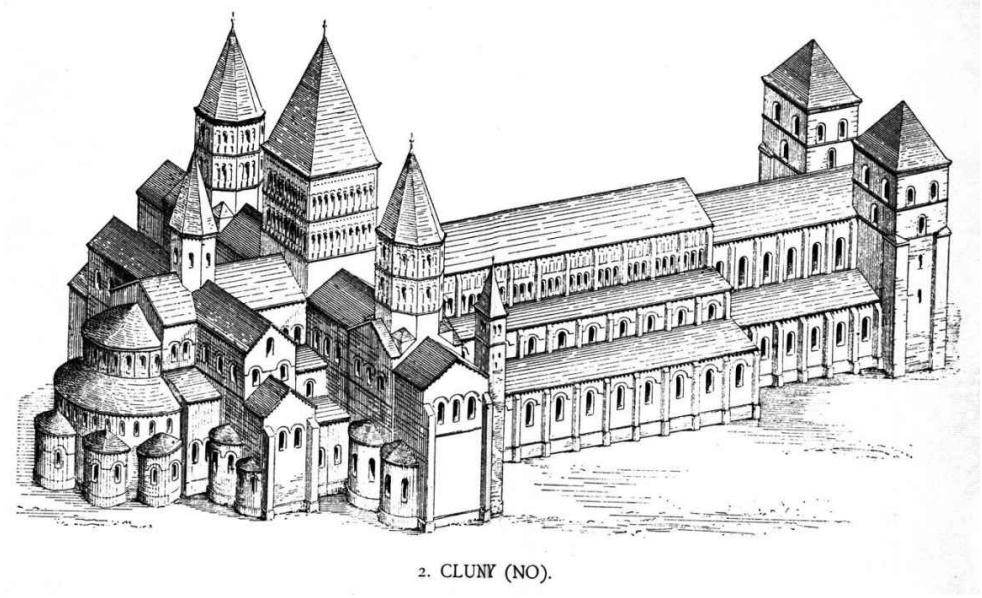
DAILY GOALS | PRIORITY

Page 173

**22.□□□

**23. 1995□□□□□□□□□P. W.□□□□□□□□□

24. 1995□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□H. F.□□□□□□□□□□□□



2. CLUNY (NO).

25. 1996□12□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□LekoaVaal□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Yunus Chamda□□□□

26.□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□

**28.□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□

**27. 1995□2□10□□□

**29.□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□

31. 1996□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□

32.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□

33. 1999□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

**34. 1996□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

35. 1999□□□□□□□□□□□□·□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□

**36. 1997□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□1986□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

**37.□□□

(Z. 15.)
81/142289

The apartheid regime had put law and order in dispute. Human rights were ruthlessly suppressed, there was detention without trial, torture and murder of political activists, open villification of Appeal Court judges who were independent and gave judgments against the regime, and the packing of the judiciary with conservative ~~lawy~~ and pliant lawyers. The police, especially the Security branch, were law unto themselves. Because of this crude practice, and out of my own convictions, I exploited every opportunity to promote respect for law and order and for the judiciary.

Two examples will illustrate this point: During my presidency parliament authorised me to issue two proclamations dealing with elections in the Western Cape Province. That provincial government took me to the Constitutional Court which overruled me in a unanimous judgment. As soon as I was informed of

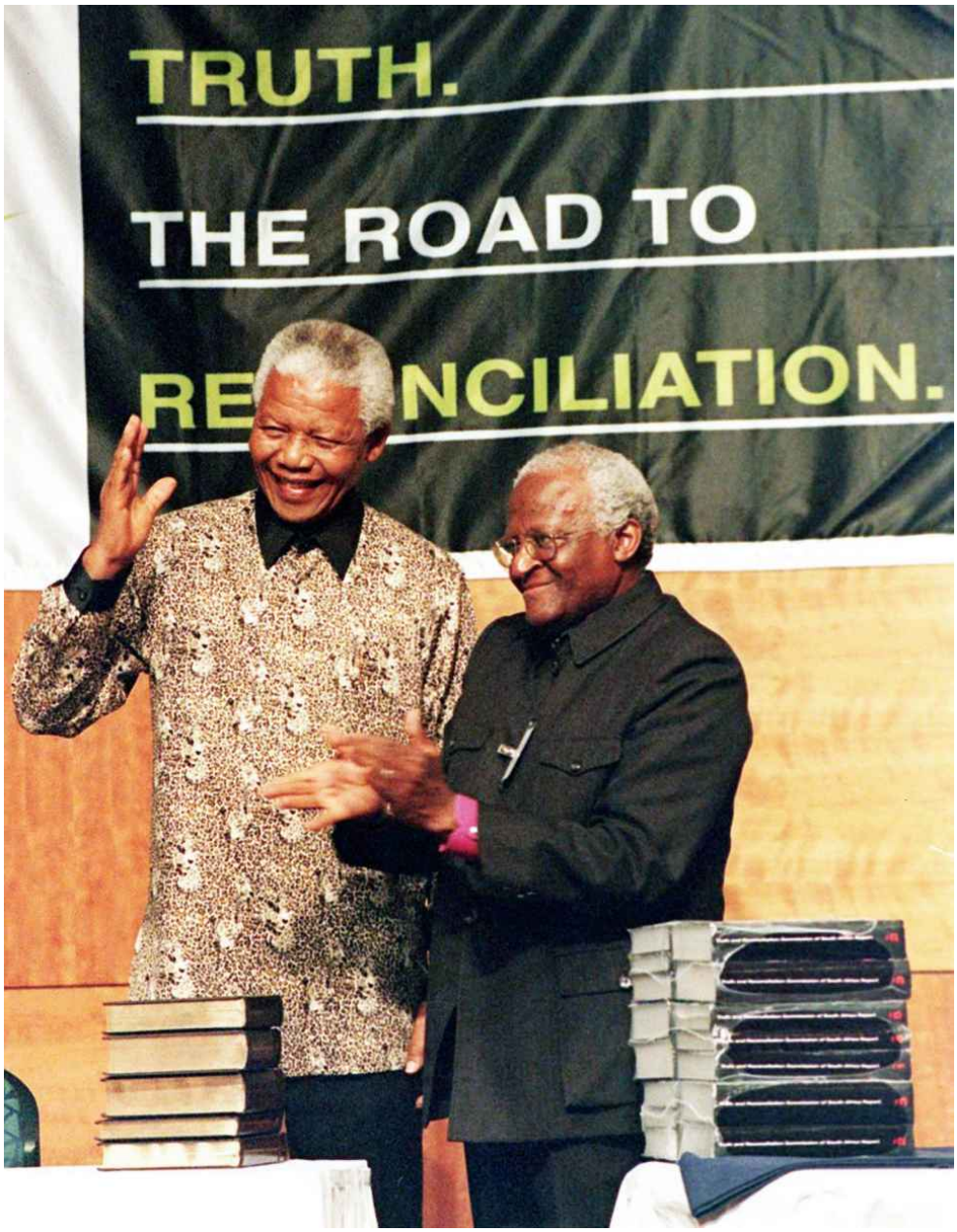
G.P.-S. 81/142289

**38.□□□

39. □□□□

**40. 1997□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□

**42. 1997□12□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□50□□□□□□□□□□□□□□



**43. 1998□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1960—1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

**44. 1995□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1993□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

+ista rex ma spinea corone
domini no.tri ihesu xpisti

**46. 1995□□□□□□□□□□□□Brits□□□□□□Oukasie□□□□□□□□□□□□

**48.□□□

**49.1999□3□26□□□

理想国
imaginist

想象另一种可能

好文 影像 活动

共读 共赏 共享

手机扫码

发现更多内容

[MIRROR]

不敢懈怠：曼德拉的总统岁月

DARE NOT LINGER: THE PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

纳尔逊·曼德拉作品 02

事实上，我们尚未获得自由，我们仅仅获得了争取自由的自由，不被压迫的权利。……因为取得自由不仅是挣脱自己身上的枷锁，更要以一种尊重和促进他人自由的方式生活。……伴随自由而来的是责任，我不敢懈怠，因为我的漫漫自由路尚未结束。

——纳尔逊·曼德拉

曼德拉堪称我们的“全球公民典范”，是“联合国最高价值的生动体现”。

——潘基文

他是南非乃至世界范围内追求公正、公平和尊严的化身。曼德拉所做出的巨大牺牲激励着各国人民，促使他们为人类的进步做出自己力所能及的贡献。

——贝拉克·奥巴马

一部重要的文本，记录了曼德拉在动荡岁月中的执政原则，以及为带来和平而采取的真诚手段。

——《科克斯评论》

上架建议：人物传记、世界历史、政治

ISBN 978-7-305-20997-0

9 787305 209970 >

定价：98.00 元